The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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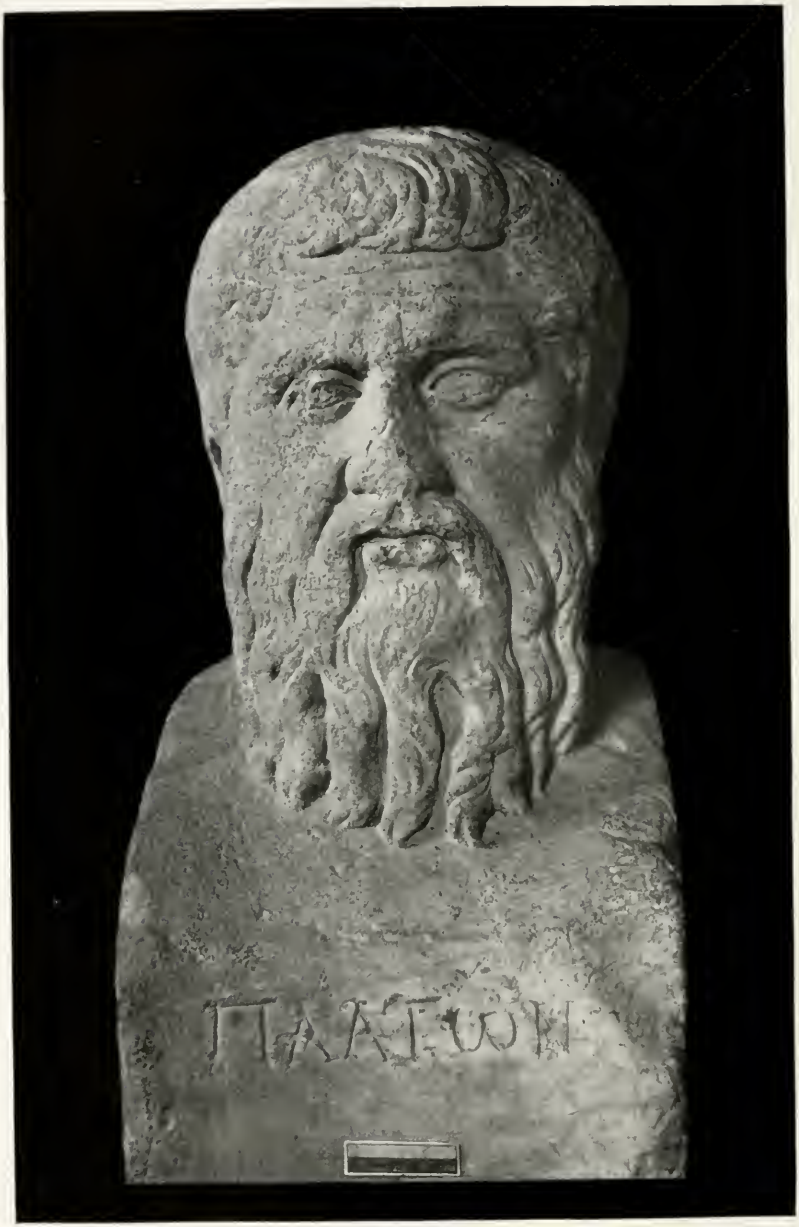

PLATO

Frontispiece to the Open Court.

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AN ANATOMY OF DEMOCRACY

BY J. V. NASH.

I.

PROBABLY there is no other political dogma which in the United States has been so fondly cherished and so unquestionably accepter, almost as an inspired pronouncement, as the statement in the Declaration of Independence which proclaims that all men are created equal. True, many of the very men who borrowed this dictum from Rousseau and wrote it into our Declaration at Philadelphia in 1776 were themselves the owners of slaves.

"With this letter," wrote George Washington to Captain John Thompson, a sailing master about to start for the West Indies, "With this letter comes a Negro, Tom, which I beg the favor of you to sell in any of the islands you may go to for whatever he will fetch and bring me in return for him one hogshead of best molasses, one hogshead of best rum, one barrel of limes if good and cheap, one pot of tamarinds, two small pots of mixed sweetmeats, and residue, much or little, in good old spirits."

But by one of those psychological sleights of hand which enable statesmen to wave blandly out of mind unpleasant facts which conflict with theories adopted to rationalize a political policy—in this case the separation of the colonies from the British Crown—the signers of the Declaration were not disturbed by the existence of the institution of slavery in their midst.

While the United States, therefore, was apostrophized in song and story as "the land of the free," its democracy necessarily had a somewhat Pickwickian flavor, since human slavery continued to flourish here long after it had been outlawed by monarchical Europe. In Europe, with its numerous population and superabundance of cheap white labor, there was never any market for Negro slaves; hence the moral sense of the governing class was not warped by

economic considerations which always seek to justify social conditions that are profitable to the dominant financial interests in the community. In America, on the other hand, there was from the beginning a scarcity of white labor south of the Mason and Dixon line, in the great plantation country; and, following the invention of the cotton gin, which made large-scale production possible, slave labor became a source of unbounded wealth to the landed gentry which exercised supreme political control throughout the South and for many years dictated the policies of the Federal government at Washington.

Before the economic effects of the boom in slave-produced cotton began to be fully felt, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, and other liberal Southerners had indeed looked forward to the gradual abolition of slavery. From this Southern emancipation movement had sprung the Liberian colonization scheme, which aimed to solve the Negro problem by the ultimate repatriation of all American slaves, who were to be transported back to and assisted to settle in Africa. The struggling Republic of Liberia still clings to a narrow strip of the low and sultry coast of equatorial West Africa, a forlorn reminder of this all but forgotten movement of one hundred years ago.

But when the economic prosperity of the South became obviously rooted in slave-grown cotton, which constituted the principal article of export and the source of a constantly increasing wealth to the planter class, the Liberian project was abandoned. It began to dawn upon the consciousness of the Southern aristocracy that chattel slavery was a God-ordained institution. The Mexican war was fought in order to gain fresh territories for its expansion at the expense of a benighted neighbor which did not recognize slavery, and by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise vast areas in the West were thrown open to the slave power. Finally, in 1857, slavery was assured the fullest protection of the Government by the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous or infamous Dred Scott case. In this decision the Supreme Court no doubt acted just as conscientiously as it did the other day in maintaining the constitutionality of Child Labor.

It was only in the North, where slavery had never been economically profitable, that the movement for abolition continued to find adherents after, say, 1825. The South would have even prohibited the discussion of the slavery question in Congress but was frustrated, largely through the efforts of the venerable John Quincy Adams in the House.

The Christian churches in the South could see no moral issue in slavery. Without exception they endorsed and re-echoed the prevailing economic doctrines, and they were ready with Biblical texts in support of their position on this point. Paul's injunction, "Servants, obey your masters," (all servants of course were slaves in his day) was thundered from a thousand pulpits.

The great Methodist and Baptist communions—the largest Protestant denominations—were rent in twain over the slavery question, and the breach has never been healed to this day. The Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches, it is true, maintained their unity of fellowship, but were not behindhand in furnishing 100 per cent patriots to both the Union and the Confederacy, although in the North, as late as 1864, an Episcopal bishop (the Right Rev. Dr. John Henry Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of Vermont) published a book in which he sought to establish, by an overwhelming array of texts from the Old and New Testaments and from the Church Fathers, the divine institution and sanction of slavery. A Southern Episcopal Bishop became a General in the Confederate Forces. Again, while the Catholic Archbishop Hughes of New York went on a diplomatic mission to Europe for President Lincoln, the noted Catholic poet-priest, Father Abram Ryan, served as a Confederate chaplain, and, so it is said, when the fray grew particularly hot seized a rifle and took his place in the ranks. Bishop John England of Charleston, S. C., the most distinguished Catholic prelate in the South at the time of his death a few years before the war, eloquently upheld the morality and lawfulness of slavery.

But by 1860 the world had reached a stage in the progress of Liberalism and Democracy in which the existence of slavery was an anachronism and could not long be tolerated in any civilized country, no matter how profitable it might be to a handful of wealthy planters in one section. Had there been no Civil War and no Emancipation proclamation by President Lincoln in 1863, it is altogether probable that slavery would have disappeared in the lifetime of the generation which fought in that conflict. Slavery had been outlawed by the Supreme Court of World Opinion, and its survival much beyond 1870, even in the United States, is inconceivable.

Possibly, indeed, if there had never been a Lincoln there would have been no Civil War, although it is not meant to intimate that Lincoln was consciously responsible for the conflict.

"Lincoln," says the late Goldwin Smith in his *Reminiscences*, with all his wisdom and goodness of heart, never took—or at least never showed that he took—a right view of the case with which he had to

deal; if he had, perhaps there would have been no war. He viewed and treated as a rebellion that which was in fact a natural disruption, postponed for some time by uneasy shifts and compromises, but inevitable in the end."

Perhaps a truer view is that of Henry Adams, a New Englander of the New Englanders and one of the most penetrating students of history in his generation, who in his illuminating *Education* writes: "Not one man in Aemrica wanted the Civil War, or expected or intended it. A small minority wanted secession. The vast majority wanted to go on with their occupations in peace. Not one, however, clever or learned, guessed what happened. Possibly a few Southern loyalists in despair might dream it is an impossible chance; but none planned it."

Jefferson Davis, later President of the Confederacy, in one of his last speeches on the floor of the United States Senate, in December, 1860, said:

"This Union is dear to me as a Union of fraternal states. It would lose its value to me if I had to regard it as a Union held together by physical force. I would be happy to know that every state now felt that fraternity which made this Union possible; and if that confidence could go out, if evidence satisfactory to the people of the South could be given, that *that* feeling existed in the hearts of the Northern people, you might burn your statute books and we would cling to the Union still. But it is because of their conviction that hostility and not fraternity now exists in the hearts of the Northern people, that they are looking to their reserved rights and to their independent powers for their own protection .... If you can submit to them that evidence, I feel confidence that with the evidence that aggression is henceforth to cease, will terminate all the measures for defense." (Congressional Globe, 1860-61, P. 30).

This may justly be considered a fair reflection of the attitude of the sober-minded leaders of the South even as late as a month after Lincoln's election.

The fact seems to be that the South was precipitated into the war largely by psychological forces, the chief of which was a widespread distrust of Mr. Lincoln, whose uncouth backwoods antecedents, combined with his ungainly, unkempt appearance, bizarre manners, and irritating public utterances, instilled in the Southern people an instinctive and unreasoning fear of his purposes toward them. In vain, upon taking office, he disclaimed the slightest intention to interfere with slavery or to meddle in any way with the local affairs of the South. In the eyes of the frightened Southern folk Mr. Lincoln was an ogre, Seward a villain, and their party, the "Black Republicans," little better than cut-throats and pirates. Charles Francis Adams, on reaching London, found this caricature

of Lincoln and Seward so firmly imbedded in the minds of even the English people that to fight against it was useless. To quote once more from "The Education of Henry Adams":

"London was altogether beside itself on one point in especial; it created a nightmare of its own, and gave it the shape of Abraham Lincoln. Behind this it placed another demon, if possible more devilish, and called it Mr. Seward. In regard to these two men English society seemed demented. Defence was useless; explanation was vain; one could only let the passion exhaust itself. One's best friends were as unreasonable as enemies, for the belief in poor Mr. Lincoln's brutality and Seward's ferocity became a dogma of popular faith."

And so the war came.

II.

It is sixty years since chattel slavery was abolished in America. With the blot of slavery cleansed from our national banner, surely we could now, without the least trace of hypocrisy, proclaim anew and in louder, fuller, more triumphant tones, the gospel of the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal, with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Were not all now, black or white, free in fact and equal before the law? Of course, poor men could not hire expensive lawyers to move juries by their skill and eloquence, and if a man had not the money wherewith to pay a fine he was sent to jail. But then, was it not a man's own fault if he was poor? Was he not on an equality with every other man, and if he failed to accumulate a fortune, was it not an evidence of shiftlessness, laziness, or downright perversity, for which he should suffer the consequences?

In my school days years ago in Boston, Montgomery's *American History* was one of the official text books, and the source of all historical truth. Who Mr. Montgomery was, I never had the least idea; probably the good old gentleman is long since dead and gone. The history was written in simple yet sententious language, setting forth the United States as a nation providentially raised up by God as a refuge for mankind,—a haven for the oppressed of all the earth, a land where all men are "free and equal," with glorious and unlimited opportunity to.....*get rich*. We were no longer a mere United States; we were the whole Western Hemisphere—We were "AMERICA." And so, at the conclusion of the history, which left off about the year 1890, the author, as a fitting climax, wound up with the sublime reflection that the story of American (i. e., United

States) history, through which the book had conducted the youthful student, pointed conclusively to one moral, which was: *AMERICA MEANS OPPORTUNITY.*

Yes, America meant opportunity—Opportunity for SUCCESS—to all. To question that statement would have seemed something akin to blasphemy. If it were questioned—as it never was—the heretic would instantly have had pointed out to him the figure of some conspicuous "self-made" man of the latter nineteenth century. "Look at Andrew Carnegie!" parents admonished little boys.

But the greatest object lesson of all was the life of Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter who became President and "saved the nation." The incontrovertible fact of Lincoln seemed a triumphant, an utterly overwhelming confirmation and vindication of our beloved dogma of political and economic democracy and of Success through the exercise of free will. And so we have with due solemnity preached to our children the gospel of democracy somewhat after the following fashion: "Any one of you can become President. If you fail to become President, it will be due to willful laziness, shiftlessness, or some other form of culpable depravity."

Of course, one might interpose an objection which seemed never to occur to these simple people; that even if all the good little boys did their very utmost to cultivate every moral and intellectual excellence, and all of them were to achieve 100% results, still, they could not by any possibility *all* become President, any more than that several million little boys could *all* catch one red apple which some benevolent old gentleman might throw among them once every four years. Granted that all little boys were equally industrious, thrifty, studious, and deserving, the one who should win the prize of the Presidency would *a fortiori* be determined by quite other factors, just as has always been the case.

Some of the Presidents, to be sure, have been men of marked ability, although Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, for many years President of the University of Chicago, speaks of even Monroe as "an excellent example of that eminently respectable mediocrity which a long experience has now taught us to expect in a presiden of these United States."*

Take a recent instance of the practical operation of "democracy" in the choice of our chief executives. In 1901 a young anarchist, inspired, it is said, by the teachings of a well-known lady revolutionist, shot and killed President McKinley, a worthy but quite unremarkable gentleman whose election had been procured by "Boss"

* The growth of the American Nation, Page 191.

Hanna. Theodore Roosevelt, who had been shunted into the Vice-Presidency by the "interests," for the express purpose of keeping him out of the Presidency, stepped across McKinley's dead body into the White House, later appointed Taft his successor, quarreled with him, and produced a split in the Republican party, through which aperture Mr. T. Woodrow Wilson (whose nomination in turn had been due to a quarrel between Mr. Bryan and Mr. Champ Clark) squeezed his thin pedagogical form and for eight years stood before the world as the voice and conscience of 100,000,000 "Americans," notwithstanding the fact that he received only a minority of the popular vote, both in 1912 and 1916. Having achieved such perfect democracy at home, we were ready in 1917 to send a conscripted army to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy."

III.

I have referred to Abraham Lincoln as the traditional example of the heights to which, it has been proudly asserted, any poor boy can rise in "America." But we are beginning to realize the naiveté of this belief, for in the light of modern psychology we know that Lincoln was not congenitally like *any* boy, certainly not like the stunted offspring of a steel mill worker living in a city slum. He was born in the great outdoors, waxed in strength through wrestling with the elemental forces of Nature, and was endowed with a mind of extraordinary power.

As water will always rise or fall to the level at which it finds equilibrium, so Lincoln, born under whatever system of government, or in whatever social milieu, would have sought and found some avenue for the exercise of his native talents. That Lincoln became President, however, was due to the confluence of many factors of time and place. Had the Republican Convention of 1860 been held elsewhere than in Chicago, the course of history would have been changed.

But, it may still be reasoned, although election to high office in our government may not be a reward of pure merit, and may depend mainly on factors over which an individual has little or no control, are not all "free and equal" in that they have an equal opportunity to achieve material "success" and the enjoyment of a high degree of happiness?

Here again, the answer must be that water cannot rise higher than its source. And now, what is the mental source, in which

all ability originates and from which all "success" must flow, among the great mass of people in democratic "America"?

"Every human being," says Goddard,* "reaches at some time a level of intelligence beyond which he never gets; these levels range from the lowest or idiotic, to the highest levels of genius."

Samuel Scott, writing in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for March, 1922, says:

"An examination of the drafted men of America during the late war leads to the conclusion that 'most of the population is of the mental age and capacity of a pupil in an upper grade of the grammar school.'"

Diagrams and statistics of the army tests have recently been prepared by the Surgeon-General and published by authority of the War Department. They will repay a little examination. It should be borne in mind that the tests were made by trained scientists upon a large group of men, taken from all walks of life, from whom the actually idiotic, feeble-minded, crippled, and seriously diseased had already been weeded out by the local draft boards.

The following table correlates the official ratings of the men with the approximate mental age limits of each group:

D—	10 per cent	Mental age of 10 and less.
D	15 per cent	Mental age of 10 to 11.
C—	20 per cent	Mental age of 11 to 12.
C	25 per cent	Mental age of 13 to 14.
C+	16½ per cent	Mental age of 15 to 16.
B	9 per cent	Mental age of 16 to 17.
A	4½ per cent	Mental age of 18 and over.

The tests applied by the psychologists were worked out to cover the mental age of 18 as the upper limit, indicating "very superior intelligence.'" But only 4½ per cent of 2,000,000 picked young men were able to qualify for that classification. It appears that 10 per cent (200,000) of the conscripts—men of from 21 to 30, inclusive—were unable to give satisfactory answers to a set of fifteen questions such as the following:

1. How many are thirty and seven men?

2. Are cats useful animals because they catch mice, or because they are gentle, or because they are afraid of dogs?

3. Is leather used for shoes because it is produced in all countries, or because it wears well, or because it is an animal product?

4. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: wet—dry?

5. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: in—out?

* *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*. By Henry Herbert Goddard, Director of the Bureau of Juvenile Research of Ohio, Princeton University Press, 1920.

6. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: hill—valley?

7. Rearrange this group of words into a sentence and tell whether it is a true or false statement: lions strong are.

8. Do the same with this group: houses people in live.

9. Do the same with this group: days there in are week eight a.

10. Do the same with this group: leg flies one have only.

11. Write the next two numbers in this series: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

12. In this series: 15, 20, 25, 30, 35.

13. In this series: 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3.

14. From the four words in capitals select one that is related to the third word in italics as the second is to the first:

gun—shoots :: *knife—*
RUN, CUTS, HAT, BIRD.

15. Do the same with these:

ear—hear :: *eye—*
TABLE, HAND, SEE, PLAY.

We are told that a man was allowed fifty minutes in which to solve these problems. Each type of question, moreover, was fully explained, and the method of procedure illustrated, before the test began. No one who passed this or a similar test successfully was rated as low as D—(mental age 10 years or less). The net result of these examinations was that just 70 per cent of the men rated mentally fourteen years of age or less.

IV.

The tragedy in the conditions revealed by the army tests lies in the fact that when a mind reaches a mental age of, say, fourteen years, and then stops, it has stopped forever. The man may grow to physical maturity; he may manage to earn a living by unskilled labor or at some simple trade or industrial task; he may and usually does marry and raise a numerous family; but no amount of ambition, thrift, or perseverance will enable him to attain to a position beyond the capacities of a mental child. We shall seek in vain among the ranks of the mental fourteen year olds for a potential Andrew Carnegie or Abraham Lincoln.

Roger W. Babson, an eminent statistician, reports that 2 per cent of the population are responsible for all our "progress"; that they control and use the other 98 per cent, who are mere ciphers.

There are certainly many features of American life which tend to confirm the inference of the relatively low mental age of the popu-

lation at large. The fact that baseball has taken its place as our great "national game," is highly suggestive in this connection. Baseball is not an adult's game. It is a game of the adolescent boy; and it is a matter of common observation that boys are its most enthusiastic "fans" and non-professional players. Every vacant lot in our cities furnishes a field for the youthful players. But the appeal of the boyish game to the great mass of average men has in recent years grown so great, that baseball has become not only our "national game," but a highly specialized industry in which millions of dollars are invested and thousands of professional players are employed. One of the most noted of our Federal jurists was recently taken from the bench to become its general manager, at a salary which a movie queen might envy.

Significant, also, is the growth of fantastic secret societies, of which the Ku Klux Klan is a recent very extraordinary but in many respects characteristic example. The weird costumes and gaudy jeweled insignia which they affect, the background of barbaric Oriental grandeur which they frequently display, and their gandiloquent terminology, as well as the air of portentous mystery in which they envelope their rites, naturally exercise a powerful fascination upon immature mentalities. The common adoption of the name of some bird or animal species as the official title of the order is suggestive of a reversion to primitive totemism.

Turn now to our newspapers, with their principal headlines devoted to crime or violence of one sort or another, and their thick "sport" supplements. A glance is sufficient to confirm our suspicion that the great bulk of the "news" carried in the press is intended to supply the wants of fourteen year old minds. At the present time the most widely advertised daily "feature" writer on the staff of a newspaper boasting one of the largest circulations in Chicago is a fourteen year old boy.

The school records and wage statistics of the United States, studied in connection with the figures of the army tests, reveal a condition of affairs which cannot be viewed without serious concern. It appears that 13 per cent of the population leave school in the fourth grade and 60 per cent never graduate from the grammar school. Only 10 per cent enter a high school, and but 3 per cent graduate. One per cent goes to college.

In the matter of wages, Clarence Darrow is authority for the following:

"Six per cent earn $150 to $200 a year— I mean, that is what they get. Twelve per cent get $250 to $300 a year. Sixteen per

cent $350 to $400. Thirty-one per cent $450 to $600. Sixty-eight per cent get less than $15 a week, and that is less than the minimum fixed for keeping a family. Twenty-seven per cent get $750 to $1000, and only 2 per cent get over $1250."

Whether or not these figures are official does not appear, but according to information made public some time ago at Washington by Representative Knight, Republican, of Ohio, and quoted in the press, average annual earnings are well below $1,000. Mr. Knight gives statistics showing that federal, state, country, and municipal taxation imposes a burden of $82 per capita, or about $350 for each family annually, and he goes on to say:

"It is difficult to get average annual earnings, for there are no returns from farmers, but leaving them out and taking an average on the returns, it was about $950 for the past year."

A respected citizen of Evanston, Illinois, celebrated his seventieth birthday anniversary recently. The gentleman is a devout Christian and pillar of the church, who has accumulated many millions of dollars in the grain pit of the Chicago Board of Trade by speculating in wheat as it passes from the producer to the consumer. He has never produced a bushel of wheat or any other useful commodity himself, but an extraordinarily quick-witted brain has enabled him to effect sensational "corners" of the market which have netted him millions, with corresponding losses to others. On his seventieth anniversary, the newspaper reporters asked the wheat magnate to tell our young men how to be successful. He obligingly gave two rules: "Work hard and save." Excellent advice to the great army of mental fourteen year olds! The canny old Pecksniff of the wheat gamblers doubtless winked when giving it.

V.

One hundred years ago a mentally fourteen year old man had, to be sure, no small chance of attaining to a position of influence and affluence, because the country was itself in the fourteen year old class. The keen-eyed, dead-shot, resourceful frontiersman, though he had never been to school, might become a Governor. He might, and often did, acquire wealth in lands and in herds. But to-day the redoubtable hunter and successful fighter of redskins has no more place in our political and economic system than has the dodo.

The mental fourteen year olds are today not only in the majority, as the army tests show; they are steadily increasing in proportion to the population. With the development of machine production, doing away with the necessity for initiative and skill in the manipulation

of tools, the mentally lower grade man is a better workman than the superior type, because his reflexes, being more mechanical, are more perfectly adjusted to the operations of the machine.

But what chance has the mental fourteen year old in the struggle for "Success" to-day? By what process can he escape from the ranks of the wage-earners into the class of executives or "owners"? As civilization becomes more complex, competition for the prizes of life proceeds over an ever higher level and so becomes progressively keener. Thus on one side we have a diminishing minority of heirs to wealth and power, and on the other side an increasing multitude of the disinherited. And just because now and then an individual of the mentally superior type is born among the disinherited, and after a long and bloody struggle forces his way up into the class to which he normally belongs, we proclaim the "self-made man," unmindful of the fact that it was not he, but a caprice of Nature, which "made" him.

And in the realm of political "democracy," how does the mentally fourteen year old, who constitutes 70 per cent of the population, fare? What chance does he have to go to Congress? Who will manage his campaign; who will finance it? The rank and file of the population—the laborers, the mechanics, the trades union people generally—are simply not represented at all in our law-making bodies. Imagine a factory worker in the Senate! But why not? There are millions of sober, industrious, conscientious men who, by reason of their mental age limitations, can never hope to be anything but factory workers, laborers or the like. They pay taxes, they are drafted for war, and there could be no production of wealth without their co-operation. They have their legitimate interests which deserve consideration and protection. Why should they not be represented among our legislators by their own delegates? Why should our Congress be practically a soviet of lawyers and others who live solely by their wits—a Congress of the 2 per cent?

It may fairly be questioned in what sense a government may claim to be a *representative* republic when the overwhelming majority of the citizens—the great mass of bona-fide farmers and wage earners—is totally unrepresented by persons from its own ranks who understand its problems and share its point of view. And we may ask further, is a country "safe for democracy" while these silent millions are governed by members of a superior mental age group into which they can never graduate, howsoever great their efforts? I am not raising the question as to whether or not we should have

better government through a different scheme of representation. (It has been said that a truly benevolent despotism is undoubtedly the "best" government). I am merely asking whether our present system is really a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it may likewise be asked in what sense can America mean "opportunity" for the 70 per cent who are mentally fourteen years of age or less, who are what they are by no fault of their own, and who cannot by any possibility change the convolutions in the gray matter which determine the limit of their mental growth. Must the promise of equal opportunity and protection in the exercise of the "inalienable rights" of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness be only a mockery to the great majority?

The fact at least must be faced, that in our highly complex civilization to-day the struggle for existence, unchecked by any just system of social control, is a battle of individual wits, whereby a small aristocrocy of mental supermen maintain a Nietzschean dominion ove the vast majority who are doomed by conditions over which they have no control to a position of political and economic inferiority. Under such conditions, "democracy" is but a sham and a deceit, and will be, until the growing social consciousness which has already abolished chattel slavery throughout the world, shall agree that every form of exploitation of the many by the few must cease.

Mental cunning then would be allowed no greater political or economic privileges than individual physical prowess is permitted in civilized countries to-day. To-day a man is severely penalized for lack of brain, although an individual is less responsible for the constitution of his brain than he is for the development of his brawn. The acquisition of wealth and power by physical might, while once the rule, is now justly condemned, but to perform the same trick by means of mental force is still regarded as praiseworthy, even in a "democratic" society.

In my paper entitled "A Biological Interpretation of Politics," I pointed out that Huxley was convinced that the key to the problem of government is to be found in the history of the development of the family group. In Huxley's mind, however, a too narrow application of the Darwinian concept embodied in the phrase, "the struggle for existence," prevented a just appreciation of the vital part played by co-operation in the evolution of the human race. The success of the primitive family group was conditioned not by the sharpness of individual competition but by the degree of co-operation which ex-

isted among its members. It was mutual service, not a tooth and claw struggle for individual domination among the members of the group, which made possible man's progressive mastery of his environment and the development of the arts. In proportion as man has broken away from the ideal of co-operation have political and economic disasters dogged his heels, so that Huxley, at the end of the nineteenth century, could write such a despairing paragraph as the following:

"Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of Want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation."

Nature is bountiful, and with the thousand-fold multiplication of production in every direction made possible by the development of machinery, the overpopulation of the earth, which caused Malthus so much concern, need give us no worry for many centuries to come. We may, indeed, reasonably believe that the nightmare of want and war will be lifted when we go back to the social basis of the family as our standard of organization in society, substituting co-operation and service for competition and blind selfishness, in that spirit of sublimated selfishness which holds, with Sheldon, that "he profits most who serves best." Then—and not until then—shall we have "democracy," in fact as well as in name, and America as well as every other country will truly mean Opportunity—opportunity to co-operate in service for that common good upon which only can the individual good be firmly, broadly, and enduringly based.

THE MYSTICISM OF PLATO

BY JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM.

PLATO, fontal as he is, did not issue out of the void. The ancient mystery cults, as well as Pindar, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Socrates, and other thinkers, bedewed the mind that produced the Phaedrus and the Symposium.

Out of the pre-Platonic background of Greek thought there emerges, more and more originatively and creatively, the profound thinker "der dunkle Philosoph," Heraclitus of Ephesus.[1] Underneath the Heraclitan doctrine of perpetual flux lies the far profounder truth that within all this flow and change there is something rational, eternal, abiding,—the Logos. "This word is everlasting. It reaches down deep. It is the guide of all things."[2] Shadowy and indefinite as is this Heraclitean Logos, it is pregnant with spiritual meaning, and it is not surprising that early Christian writers coupled the name of Heraclitus with that of Socrates and Plato as Christians before Christ.[3]

In that strong, sincere, forthright soul, Socrates, protagonist of personality, there was not only an intuitive grasp of truth, but a fervor of spirit, and a sense of spiritual verities which greatly influenced Plato.

Plato discloses the mystical mind too clearly and constantly to be questioned; but the extraordinary wealth and scope of his mysticism have as yet hardly been recognized.[4]

Consider, first, *his attitude toward spiritual as contrasted with scientific truth*, as illustrated in the following illuminating speech of Socrates in the *Phaedrus*. It is called out by the question of Phae-

[1] "The most original Greek thinker, next to Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle." E. Pfleiderer, *Philosophie der Heraklit*.

[2] *Fragments*, Bakewell, *Source Book*, p. 28.

[3] E. G. Justin Martyr and Eusebius.

[4] This does not mean that his mind was not also thoroughly *rational* as well as nostical.

drus to Socrates, as the two are walking together along the banks of the Ilissus, as to whether he believes the tale of Boreas carrying off Orithyia to be true. Socrates replies:

> Why, I should do nothing strangely out of the way if I *were* to refuse to it credit, as the learned do; and go on in their rationalizing method to say that as the girl was playing with Pharmacea she was blown over the adjoining cliffs by a blast of the wind, Boreas; and that having met with death in this manner, she was fabled to have been carried off by the god Boreas—either from this place or, if you like from Mars hill, which according to another account, was the scene of her adventure. But for my part, Phaedrus, though I consider such explanations sufficiently pretty, yet I esteem them the peculiar province of a very subtle, painstaking, and by no means particularly enviable person, if for no other reason than that he will be called upon, as soon as he has finished this subject, to set us right as to the form of the Hippocentaurs, and again as to that of the Chimera, and then he will have pouring in upon him a like crowd of Gorgons and Pegasuses, and such a wondrous host of portentous and impossible creatures that if he were to disbelieve them all, and, with a kind of vulgar acuteness, apply to each successively the test of probability, he would require no small amount of time and labour for his task. But I have no leisure for such studies—and the reason, my friend, is this: I cannot as yet obey the Delphic inscription which bids me know myself, and it seems to me ridiculous for one who is still destitute of this knowledge to busy himself with matters which in no wise concern him. I therefore leave these subjects alone, and acquiescing in the received opinion regarding them, I devote myself, as I just now said, to the study, not of fables, but of my own self, that I may see whether I am really a more complicated and a more furious monster than Typhon, or a creature of a gentler and a simpler sort, the born heir of a divine and tranquil nature.[5]

A perspicuous revelation this, touched by a subtle humor, of the working of a mind so concentrated upon the inner life of the self that it can hardly be patient with those who are occupied with lesser interests.

Plato's mysticism is evidenced by his *intuitionism*. Although his concern—as indicated in the above pungent speech—was chiefly ethical,[6] it was not confined, as was that of Socrates, to the moral sphere. He was intent to know all that he could of ultimate truths.

[5] Wrights translation. Everyman's library.

[6] "The great question, he tells us in the Republic, is whether we shall be good or bad. To this all else is subordinate—art, literature, industry, and politics, everything in public and private life." George Rowland Dodson, *The Relation of Plato to our Age*, Harvard Theol. Review, VI, 1, 101.

Of this quest, the doctrine of ideas was the issue. Here, again, we find him mystical, first, in the method by which he arrives at the ideas, intuition, and second in that which he finds to be the central idea, the Good.

The truth-method of Plato is the Mystical one of *immediacy*. "While always insisting on exact argument and careful logical reasoning, he makes all reasoning depend finally on intellectual insight and vision which is immediate."[7] At the end of all search and striving, of all argument and dialectic, the truth comes to us, "on a sudden," as does the perception of beauty. It is a gift, an impartation. Not only does truth come thus, but virtue itself. After the long and searching discussion of the nature of virtue in the *Meno*, the conclusion reached is as follows: "From this reasoning then, Meno, it appears to us that such as are possessed of virtue, have it as a divine *portion* or *allotment* to them."

In making the Good the Idea of ideas, Plato assumed the mystical as well as the ethical norm of values.[8] For there is no final reason for making Goodness supreme except the mystical one that it is *good*. It must be granted, however, that Plato fell short of the completely personal conception of the Good,[9] and thus failed of that intimately personal form of mysticism which is realized in Christianity alone.

The use of the myth by Plato is another indication of his mysticism. It shows his discontent with any merely abstract, intellectual, and impotent view of truth. He will have it infused with imagination and feeling. J. A. Stewart regards the purpose of Plato in the use of the myth to be the rousing of the "transcendental feeling" which all true poetry evokes. "It is in Transcendental Feeling, not in thought, that consciousness comes nearest to ultimate reality."[10] Would it not be truer to Plato to say that it is in thought, or rather in contemplation, *animated by transcendental feeling*, that we come nearest to ultimate reality? For Plato's myths are symbolic and illustrative and as such shot through with vigorous thought.

[7] A. D. Lindsay, *Introduction to Five Dialogues of Plato bearing on Poetic Inspiration*, Everyman's Library, p. ix.

[8] "The doctrine of man's relationship to the divine is perhaps the most fundamental of Plato's doctrines." James Adam: *The Vitality of Platoism*, p. 131.

[9] For a discussion of Plato's conception of personality see Mortineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, I. p. 87. Teichmüller wrote of Plato's sense of personality: Das Individuum und die individuelle Seele ist nicht im self standige Princip sondern nur ein Resultat der Mischung aus Idee und dem Princep des Worden's." Rhode's *Psyche*, p. 278, Note.

[10] Plato's Myths, p. 44.

The reader of Plato cannot but be struck by the calm serenity of the atmosphere of the dialogues. But was Plato's idealism so detached and serene as it seems? It may well be that there were struggles behind it and within it which are lost to us as we stand with him on the cloudless heights. Did he not denominate philosophy a "meditation on Death"?—a phrase which may well mean, as A. H. Lloyd has interpreted it, "just his cry of victory, his triumph over the despair, deeply evident to him, of Greek civilization.[11] So also with that lingering upon reminiscence, or "pre-existence," so consonant with mysticism, by means of which he summoned the soul to behold its own eternal birthright and home, "when it travelled in the company of the gods, and, looking high over what we now call real, lifted up its head into the region of eternal essence." This is his tribute to the reality of the spirit, rather than some echo from far-off India that had found its way into his thought.

Most mystical of Plato's attitudes is his *loyal devotion to love,* "the cherisher of all that is good, the abolisher of all evil; our most excellent pilot, defence, savior and guardian . . . the ornament and governor of all things human and divine; the best, the loveliest; in whose footsteps every one ought to follow, celebrating him excellently in song, and bearing each his part in that divinest harmony which Love sings to all things which live and are, soothing the troubled minds of gods and men."[12]

Where will one find a purer and more moving piece of mysticism than the passage in the *Phaedrus,* in which Socrates, duly admonished by his daemon (another touch of mysticism), makes his amends for the insult to love of which he and Phaedrus have been guilty, followed by the eloquent ascription to love? In this hymn occurs also that tribute to *inspiration* (madness) which seems so alien to Plato's customary mood but which he saves so skillfully from misinterpretation by distinguishing true from false inspiration: "We owe our greatest blessings to madness, if only it be granted by Heaven's bounty."

It remains only to point to the fact that Plato, too, had his ladder of love, not quite the same as that of Christian mysticism, but not unallied to it:

> 'Tis when a man ascendeth from these beautiful things by the Right Way of Love, and beginneth to have sight of that Eternal Beauty—'tis then, methinks, that he toucheth the goal. For this is the right way to go into the mysteries

[11] A. H. Lloy, *Plato's Philosophy a Meditation on Death,* Harvard Theological Review, July, 1908, p. 337.

[12] *Symposium.*

> of Eros, or to be led by another—beginning from the beautiful things here, to mount up alway into the Eternal beauty, using these things as the steps of a ladder . . . till at last, being come into that which is the Doctrine of the Eternal Beauty and naught else beside, he apprehendeth what Beauty Itself is.

In his comments upon the *Phaedrus* Jowett well says:

> No one can truly appreciate the dialogues of Plato, especially the Phaedrus, Symposium, and parts of the Republic, who has not a sympathy with Mysticism . . . By Mysticism we mean not the extravagence of an erring fancy, but the concentration of reason in feeling, the enthusiastic love of the good, the true, the one, the sense of the infinity of knowledge and of the marvel of the human faculties.

JOHN BROWN—A CHAPTER FROM THE LIFE OF EDWIN MILLER WHEELOCK.

BY CHARLES KASSEL.

THE biographical sketch of the author of Proteus, published in the September issue, 1920, of the Open Court, was a sweeping summary which traced the career of this brilliant writer and preacher, from his pastorate of a Unitarian church in Dover, New Hampshire, before the Civil War, through his period of military service with the Northern armies at New Orleans, and his incumbency of various offices under the Reconstruction Government in Texas, down to his death in 1901, at Austin in that state, where, during his later years, he served as the minister of a Unitarian congregation.

In the issue of the Open Court for February, 1922, the present writer dealt with the discourse upon the execution of John Brown, delivered in the first instance at Dover and re-delivered later in Boston, and which at once gave its author a noteworthy place among the abolitionist crusaders, and we saw how prophetic that utterance was and how clearly the young preacher foresaw what was so soon to follow. The paper in the March issue, 1923, filled in the background for the "John Brown Sermon," and reviewed its author's antecedents as an abolitionist and his connection with the anti-slavery movement.

In all the annals of time it would be difficult to find a story of more melancholy interest than the history of negro slavery in the South. Tolerated originally as a temporary institution, with the finest intellects, even among the Southern leaders, set against it, the system crept like a subtle poison over the whole surface of Southern thought, until every mind was charged with the venom.

In the earlier day, the spectacle of John Brown, with his courage and his fanatical sincerity, would have awakened an instinctive re-

spect upon the part of a naturally chivalrous people. As it was, the figure of the old abolitionist was a hateful sight, and southern feeling, wrought to the boiling point, saw in him, as later it saw in Lincoln, the embodiment of forces at work for the South's undoing.

It is a powerful testimony to the essential nobility of the Southern people that, even among minds reared in the very atmosphere of the struggle, and with the recollection of bitter suffering and privation in the background of memory, the name of Brown is spoken with becoming reverence now as the apostle, not only of freedom for the slave, but of freedom for the South itself—freedom from an institution which would ultimately have strangled all that was best in Southern life.

The bearing of Brown, his generous feeling toward his captors, and, above all, his remarkable letters written during his imprisonment, published as they were at the time in the leading Northern journals, produced a profound impression both in this country and abroad. Men held their breath as they inquired what manner of man this was and what the cause he was so ready to die for. Do what they would, they could not cast off the memory of martyrdoms in other climes and ages, and thoughts tinged with something like religious feeling stirred at the spectacle of the wounded and stricken old man meeting death at the noose's end.

It was a foolish thing, on the part of the South, to provide the cause of abolition with its martyr, particularly when upon his lips an undoubted Christian fervor burned. One might fancy that the tutelary deities of the South were shrieking in the ears of Southern leaders against the 'deep damnation of his taking off', but those ears were deaf with passion and sealed against the voice of wisdom.

To his brother Brown wrote from prison, "I am quite cheerful in view of my approaching end, being fully persuaded that I am worth inconceivably more to hang than for any other purpose," and to his old teacher, "As I believe most firmly that God reigns I cannot believe that anything I have done will be lost to the cause of God or humanity, and before I began my work at Harper's Ferry I felt sure that in the worst event it would certainly pay." In the same strain he expressed himself to his cousin, "When I think how easily I might be left to spoil all I have done or suffered in the cause of freedom I hardly dare wish another voyage, even if I had the opportunity."

There was no prayer that the cup might pass from him—on the contrary, he thought of his fate with deep satisfaction. "I feel just as content to die for God's eternal truth on the scaffold," he said in a

letter to his younger children "as in any other way," and to his older children on the same day he wrote, "As I trust my life has not been thrown away so I humbly trust that my death will not be in vain."

These letters were words of comfort merely to his kindred and his friends. For the nation at large, and particularly for those who had encompassed his destruction, a more solemn word was reserved, and he awaited the hour which would make its delivery most impressive.

On the day of his execution, with the moment of doom but a few hours off, he gave this his last written message to the world—a prophecy appallingly true to the event and which, as the word of a dying man, yielding his life for a great cause, must have borne a fearful meaning to sensitive natures everywhere: "I, John Brown, am quite certain that the sins of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

It is difficult to overstress the effect of such utterances upon the Northern imagination. Once read, they would not out from the memory. The high joy of the condemned man in his fate, his solemn and impressive statements and the religious tone which prevaded his deliverances, could not fail of touching a deep and responsive chord. When, later, the war which Brown had foretold became a reality, and Northern women were sending their husbands and their sons to die for the nation, all he had said and written seemed a long resounding blast from a prophet's trumpet, and the ballad of the man who died a felon's death for humanity's sake became the marching song of embattled hosts.

On Monday night, following the outbreak at Harper's Ferry, Col. Robert E. Lee reached the scene with one hundred marines and sent a flag of truce to notify Brown of his arrival and in the name of the United States to demand his surrender. That demand was refused and in the demand and its refusal there was something strangely, even mystically, symbolic.

Brown was of the type which had suffered for opinion's sake through the ages. His first American ancestor, Peter Brown, had come over in the Mayflower in 1620. His were of the folk among whom Cromwell's Ironsides had been recruited. Lee, on the other hand, himself the perfection of Southern chivalry, was distinctly the representative of those polished and graceful Cavaliers who fought for king and country against the Roundheads. Such indeed, were the traditions in the family of Lee. In the attitude, now, of the grim

abolitionist toward the great Southern soldier the Puritanism of the old days stood again militant, and the contact of those men, the embodiment of antagonistic forces in that crisis, was a fitting augury of what was shortly to follow.

It is strange that the drift of events was so little apparent to minds at the North. The belief in the practicability of a compromise still held fast all Northern thought, and the suggestion of war as a possible outcome of the slavery issue was laughed away by all leaders of opinion except a few penetrating minds here and there.

Seeing the obtuseness at the North to the signs of the approaching conflict, we may wonder the more that, as early as the close of 1859, in the sermon upon the execution of John Brown, the young pastor from Dover had the insight to perceive and the courage to announce that from the martyrdom of Brown should date a new era in the anti-slavery cause and that to moral agitation would thenceforth be added the agitation of force. Nor can we fail to marvel at the confident prediction that the talk of violence which the preceding year had affected even anti-slavery men with a shudder would be uttered the following year in every Northern legislature as a thing of course. Even to the great audience at the Music Hall, though fresh from the anti-slavery teaching of Theodore Parker himself, it must have seemed quite a far-fetched prophecy that within a few years the very ground upon which John Brown had stood in his attack upon slavery would be occupied by the entire North.

It is a circumstance of curious interest that the foresight at the North which could pierce the future, and lift the veil from the terrible storm brewing, was confined almost exclusively to John Brown sympathizers. Governor Andrew had been an admirer of Brown and with Montgomery Blair had retained special counsel for the defense of the prisoner, and Governor Andrew, as we have seen, prepared the militia of his state for war shortly after his inauguration in 1861, against the derisive cries of the Republicans of his own State. So, Longfellow wrote in his journal: "That will be a great day in our history, the date of a new revolution quite as much noted as the old one. Even now, as I write, they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue the slave! This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, which will come soon." Again, Victor Hugo, living at that moment in exile for the cause of human liberty, commented prophetically upon the spectacle which the enlightened people of Europe were beholding with bated breath. "In killing Brown the Southern States have committed a crime which

will take its place among the calamities of history. A rupture of the Union will fatally follow the assassination of Brown.

Such forevision was not vouchsafed to the political leaders of the time at the North, though at the South Davis and Stephens, knowing the temper of their own people, realized the conflict could not be put off. "We are now" says Schouler as his narrative approaches the fateful year of 1861, "on the verge of a terrible civil conflict, cruel and sanguinary as the world ever saw. Private citizens in many respects saw its approach more clearly than statesmen long experienced in public life. Events hurried to the climax of arms before either side was well aware of it. In the free states more especially, so strong had become the habit of believing in the perpetuity of the Union that men clung tenaciously to the idea that political craft would span the situation as it had often done before; that new negotiations, honorable or otherwise, some new bundle of mutual concessions, would bolster up the old link of social systems. Not until the rash cannon of South Carolina thundered at Fort Sumter was the illusion dispelled."

Greely, as we are told by Oswald Garrison Villard in his life of John Brown, had said, "I believe the end of slavery in Virginia and the Union is ten years nearer than it was a few years ago." But Greely had scant sympathy with Brown and there was, in his case, little of the intuitive forevision which marks men of the type of him whose story we write. The feeling of Brown, of Longfellow, of Hugo, and of Wheelock was truer, for within less than two years from the execution of John Brown the slave-holding states had seceded from the Union, the Southern Confederacy had been organized, and the first blow of the war had been struck.

Many decades before, Thomas Jefferson, pondering the problem of chattel slavery, had uttered the solemn warning:

> "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that this people are to be free. It is still in our power to direct the processes of emancipation and deportation in such slow degree that the evil will wear off insensibly and their way be paripassu filled up with free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to go on human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

The hour had now come when the awful catastrophe of which Jefferson had given warning was ready to break and the young prophet from Dover knew that events would hasten to a climax.

SHALL COUÉISM SPELL PROGRESS OR REGRESSION?

BY ADOLF MEYER.

IT does not seem fair to brush aside a call to know the estimate of Couéism as seen by medical experience. To show the public and the medical profession what is involved in this latest cult is, however, not very simple. Unfortunately, sound conceptions of science are not merely a matter of talking and writing, but of familiarity with work and facts. Mere discussions about suggestion without supervised laboratory work, practical work and the trial of experience, are about as satisfactory as trying to settle denominational and political beliefs by discussion of differences. Most people are impatient of collecting and painstakingly testing facts such as would be needed for a proper orientation and discussion. The recent wave of uncritical popularization of psychoanalysis has undoubtedly added to the inflammability of popular imagination and to the wide-spread notion that plausibility and desirability are sufficient evidence of truth and actuality. Everybody seems to be perfectly ready to think of the 'unconscious self' as if its existence, in whatever form you might want to imagine it, could no longer be disputed.

The concept of the 'subconscious' is a convenient one because you can make it out to consist of what suits your theory or wish. Freud makes it one thing, Morton Prince another, and Coué yet another; and nobody can give more than a pragmatic definition of the concept. Yet before one assigns to the 'subconscious' the power to determine the sex of a child or the suppression of the circulation to a tumor, it would be well to subject the available trials to a conscientious scrutiny rather than to make impressionistic assertions. It is the physician's duty not to scold and criticize, but to see that the facts required for the development of correct ideas be made more widely accessible to the medical profession and to the public. This is what the few well-organized centers of psychobiological and psychotherapeutic work are aiming at. Unfortunately, theirs is not

quite as exciting and sensational a program as the one furnished by an enthusiastic believer in naive, simple, and in many ways effective scheme and doctrine and a type of work which makes almost exclusively for cures without any analysis of the failures and of the special reason for the cures where they are attained.

Dr. George Draper in *The New Republic* of January 10, 1923, has given us an unusually attractive picture of the constructive part of the wave of Couéism. It is quite appropriate that he should have subordinated in his discussion the numerous flaws of such movements which could hardly survive in homo sapiens if there were not strong reasons or causes at work. Such causes are, on the one hand, a profound ignorance of the data of hypnotism and suggestion on the part of the majority of people including physicians; and on the other hand, an equally narrow and inadequate current conception of pathology, which is not capable of doing justice to the mentally integrated aspects of life. The unfortunate part is that an enthusiastic and thoroughly sincere man like M. Coué, who does a lot of good in his sphere, is, on critical inspection, found to work with some claims which are better than the conceptions of the average lay and professional public, but also with others on which he is uninformed and misled and misleading.

M. Coué undoubtedly learned a great deal under the shadow of the great Nancy school of hypnotism represented by that splendid old practitioner Liébeault, and the professor of Internal Medicine of the Nancy Medical School, Dr. Bernheim. Under the additional influences of an American health tract of the 'will to believe' type, M. Coué's common sense and experience as a druggist and his simple and direct mode of reasoning allowed him to develop a practical plan of work, which has often enough been described. He is eminently a practitioner of his theory, intent on cures, and neither an investigator, nor, in the strict sense of the word, a scientifically trained or scientifically interested person. He is satisfied with the positive results of his ambition, that is, his treatments and theory. The whole plan allows him to wash his hands of the failures. They simply mean that some people do not try sufficiently to make themselves use autosuggestion properly. His enthusiasm leads him to undertake difficult problems which sometimes go beyond what the judgment of scientically controlled medical experience would countenance. Warts and fibromata behave strangely and *may* be accessible to suggestive treatment or may favor the semblance of successful suggestion, or actually may occasionally be influenced by suggestion, just as men-

struation can be started and stopped by suggestion in some persons; but we should beware of making hasty promises and arousing expectations on the part of the whole rank and file of the public, where serious errors of diagnosis might occur owing to delay in making a proper study of the facts.

Like Freud, M. Coué discards hypnosis proper and therewith the use of the, to many, annoying or impracticable submission reaction; and he leaves the patient with the welcome idea that he and not Coué is entitled to the credit of the 'cure' and of whatever else takes place. With all his good will and efforts, however, Coué will never be able to eradicate from his patients a certain attitude of mysticism, which is apt to oppose itself to what is scientifically verifiable and commendable, and which will work as faith usually does. After all, Robinson's Mind in the Making and many other books of the day make it plain to anyone that man has not emancipated himself from the tendency to believe in magic. American healing cults have shown us plentifully that such a state of faith with its melioristic fancy may be very favorable for many sufferers and more advantageous for a naive getting along than a half-baked and frequently scoffing and self-sufficient rationalism; but it would be a pity to see the more intelligent public and the medical profession retrograde from a spirit of inquiry into one of dogmatic faith. The simple principle of crowding out all the other influences in ourselves by just repeating fast enough some well meaning phrases will undoubtedly appear to work in many cases; but the theory is far from convincing. Even the good result is apt to be a mere smoothing over, and there is no telling what other effects have to be taken into the bargain.

M. Coué's theories and those proposed by Baudouin offer many points which might well be subjected to conscientious laboratory study before they are recommended for public consumption. The criterion of success is a poor guide if one forgets the failures and only extols the desirable results. In this direction we physicians undoubtedly have to plead guilty very often. A large amount of medical practice is based on taking credit for results which any kind of half-way reasonable hygiene would bring about without expense to the patient. Neither the medical profession nor the public realize fully how much 'sickness' is a way of charging grievances up to a poor innocent organ or part, from the bowels to the spine. In this connection one gladly recognizes that a most commendable feature of M. Coué's philosophy is his insistence upon 'Self-mastery of Moral and Physical Health,' a point which the philosophy of medical train-

ing is apt to eliminate from the picture of nature as seen by the physician. On the other hand, the actual investigation of the real working of real disorders is not as simple and inexpensive as the good work of Pollyanna, whether she appear in the garb of 'the will to believe' or of the chiropractor or the good and honorable prescription of traditional bitterness or alcoholic flavor.

The natural selection of the numerous willing and hopeful patients who go to see M. Coué in Nancy and the charming and ably managed setting have a great deal to do with the frequency of success. If M. Coué had to deal with large numbers of patients who receive compensation for being sick and who resent any interference with their invalidism, he would come somewhat nearer the rank and file of so-called psychoneuroses. The scope of efficiency of waking suggestion naturally is limited, but it is large among those who seek help from him, and there is always some zest in furnishing the wished-for testimony against the non-believers. But the thought of thousands of people reeling off the formula with the twenty knots of a string in hand leaves a bad taste.

Nobody wants to put a ban on such efforts as M. Coué's. Indeed one cannot help feeling grateful for his good deeds and the appeal for a revision of tradition. In the meantime the Christian Scientist will feel that he might give credit to the healing powers of religion, and the physician will ask for a more thorough study of the facts, and a better formulation of the theory in harmony with the facts. A spirit of inquiry, and support of those who honestly try to put the experience with auto-suggestion on a solid and critically and experimentally controlled basis, will in the end be the best result of the wave of interest. The most wholesome upshot will be a natural curiosity, a frank expression of questions arising in the mind of the thinking public and an honest effort on the part of those who are in a position to investigate, to give the public a helpful and dependable account of the present knowledge of the pertinent facts and the conditions under which knowledge can be promoted.

Two lines of helpfulness are open: a collection of the views and questions of the thinking public, to be gathered and sifted and interpreted by a competent and sympathetic student of both the public and of auto-suggestion or whatever M. Coué's work involves—this would be using the occasion to fathom public opinion and current misconceptions; and, on the other hand, a formulation and thorough carrying out of the necessary experimental and control work in a center of research that might obtain the necessary means to under-

take the study. With due respect to M. Coué's modest opinion of his own importance in the movement one cannot help feeling that it would be difficult to duplicate the conditions with his whole-hearted self-confidence, the fascination of the public with the man of the hour, and the happy and simple setting of the Nancy home left out. Out of the combination of the analysis of the intellectual needs of the public and the control of what can be experimentally tested something substantial and constructive might nevertheless arise as a lasting benefit from the noteworthy and sincere demonstration of this fourth one of the quartette of great healers mentioned by Dr. Draper. Beside Aesclepiades of Bythnia and Greatrakes and John Joseph Gassner there have existed and exist in every generation many other great Healers; history repeats itself on this point. They will undoubtedly help some persons but are apt to corroborate superstitions and false philosophies. The example of the vivid personality of M. Coué might well be turned into more than a boon of the moment and of his life-time—an occasion for a deeper study of the nature of man and his ills and the means to overcome them at the root, by constructively helpful balance of imagination, knowledge and will, and at the same time an awakening of the public interest in a saner conception of disease and its cure.

PURITANISM VERSUS PROFESSIONALISM IN ART

BY CATHERINE BEACH ELY.

RAPPING the Puritans on the knuckles has never been more in vogue than at present—particularly in the world of art. The popular prejudice against Puritanism has the same roots as most popular prejudices—the ignorance or hasty judgment of some, the malice of others. Puritanism and the artistic temperament are not mutually exclusive. Puritanism recognizes the artist as a developer of the human race on its climb toward the spiritual goal and Puritanism encourages self expression in art. The attitude of the Puritan toward art is of especial significance in America in whose founding the Puritans had so large a share and in whose life today, in spite of much continental veneer, Puritan tendencies still play an important though sometimes unrecognized part. The essence of Puritanism is the placing of emphasis on the spirit rather than the form. Puritanism has always opposed and still does oppose professionalism, (the exclusive and formal attitude), in art as well as in religion.

The historical origin and development of Puritanism throw light upon its attitude toward art and life. In the sixteenth century Puritanism originated as a movement against uniformity, formalism and decadence. The Puritans protested against elaboration in church services and church art and antagonized an age in which religious and art ideals were low. Later, in Elizabeth's reign, these troublesome enemies to ritual received the nickname of Puritans (from the Latin puritas). The unfriendly attitude of Elizabeth and the bishops caused the exodus of the Puritan-Separatists or Pilgrims to Holland and later to the New World where their policies were reinforced by Puritans who emigrated directly from England to America. Those Puritans who remained in England worked for reform inside the church of England, until the Toleration Act of 1689 gave to the dissenting bodies of England permanent though not complete freedom of worship. Joseph E. Crouch of Kenilworth,

England, in his volume *Puritanism and Art* makes an elaborate historical defense of Puritans in relation to English drama, literature, graphic arts, architecture and popular amusements, in which he shows how bitterly state and clergy opposed them.

All these struggles against ironclad traditions increased the original bias of the Puritans for freedom of opportunity, for simplicity and reality of expression. The only art which can survive the ages has the quality of universality—it must not be the exclusive possession of a privileged class. The Puritans revolted against snobbishness in art—against its appropriation by priests and by the aristocracy. They wished for an art and form of worship comprehensible to simple people rather than directed toward the understanding of trained experts alone. Puritanism is unalterably opposed to useless elaboration and exaggerated symbolism. It gets down to the bed rock of human nature, so does art which endures. True art resembles religion in seeking the ideal in the real—it abhors the artificial. Puritanism increased the culture of the middle classes and decreased esoterism in art. It brought a sense of reality to art and to religion.

The Puritans believed that the reform movement must sweep away whatever threatened reality and simplicity. They believed that the multiplication of saints to be worshipped was superstition, they therefore objected to the endless observance of saints' days and to continual féting of saints' images and of paintings of saints on glass and canvas. No doubt Puritanism like every great reform movement had its "lunatic fringe." The Puritans did serious wrong in so far as they destroyed any form of noble art and in so doing they misrepresented Christ's teaching which combined emphasis on self control with emphasis on beauty. But the Puritans were not alone to blame. An even greater demolisher of church art was Henry VIII who acted from personal motives. The Renaissance, inspired by hostility toward Gothic art, also had a hand in the destruction of ancient church art.

Undeniably the Puritans of England did turn the cold shoulder on decorative art. They neglected art in building and church services because their constant persecutions by the state church prevented that mental detachment which is conducive to the cultivation of the arts in church life, and because the arts had become so perverted and formalized in church services that they felt impelled to prohibit them entirely from their meeting houses. They distrusted sensuous imagery as an aid to faith, and so some extremists among

them came to extol paucity as if it were a virtue. Yet in America they built not only solidly but artistically. The early churches of New England are superior in harmony and unity of architecture to most of our modern ones. The best architecture in America today is the colonial—a survival of Puritan building. Modern American craftsmen in furniture and metalware are going back to Puritan designs for a living source of inspiration.

Of course the Puritans helped along the factory system and the enlargement of industry, for their enemies had pushed them out of other callings. Yet, although Puritanism was a middle class movement, characterized by industrial development, it was not only to preserve some of the most valuable of antique art, it was to give birth to a new art.

Oliver Cromwell, often berated as a Puritan-bigot, came to the rescue of antique art. Charles I was a collector and connoisseur of art, but the art of his time was exclusively for the delectation of court circles. After England's Civil War many of Charles' art treasures were sold to pay his debts and those of the queen; and the proceeds of the sale of other art treasures of his were used for public purposes. But Cromwell preserved the most valuable pictures in Charles' collection: he enjoyed masterpieces of painting and sculpture. It was he who preserved the famous Raphael cartoons for the nation.

The Puritans introduced a new art. Art as the official medium of the church had grown lifeless. Then came protestantism which stood for simplicity and sincerity as opposed to elaborate stereotyped art. Protestantism brought a fresher more direct note to painting. Albrecht Dürer, a protestant and a forerunner of the Puritan in his cast of thought, painted with power, freshness and reality, religious themes which had become formalized. He radically departed from official art and brought art to the homes of the people.

English Puritan art was nourished by the new art of Holland. The Puritans of England were deeply influenced by the Protestantism of Holland. Some of them had fought in the wars of the Netherlands for civil and religious independence. Puritan families who emigrated to Holland seeking freedom from worship came in contact with Dutch art. In the 17th century Holland was the seat of Protestant art: having wrought out her political and religious independence, she developed an art which is still unsurpassed. The Protestant has always placed great emphasis on the home; so it came about that the art of Holland was largely dedicated to the home.

Art which in the past had usually been confined to aristocrats now delighted the eyes of the people. The Dutch painted the things they loved—the land and sea, the fruits and flowers of the fields they cultivated—painted these things naturally and joyously. They also loved to paint biblical scenes, not in a stereotyped traditional way, but unconventionally and with deep feeling. Rembrandt was the product of protestantism. Protestantism did not thwart the development of his genius nor render it narrowly didactic.

Protestant painting was democratic. It breathed sympathy for humble folk. Catholic and court painters showed Christ as a King in royal robes surrounded by courtiers. Protestant art showed Him as the Friend of lowly human beings. Protestant art glorified the toil of everyday people. It was Protestantism which gave to art these human characteristics: it freed the mind from the frosty grip of classicism.

English Puritanism brought art out of formalism to a study of Nature. Puritan artists and writers were pioneers in the direct appreciation of Nature. The Puritan Hogarth is called the father of modern art in England. The Puritan Spenser is accredited with having put life and beauty into English song. James Thomson of Scotland wrote *The Seasons*. Milton, the Puritan, wrote *Areopagitica*, an inspired plea for freedom in creative art. The Puritan Bunyan vivified his work by word paintings of nature. Two generations of Puritanism produced Gainsborough, portraitist and landscapist. His originality, independence and direct appreciation of nature were Puritan qualities, so was his love of music in the home. His work is full of kindnesss, happiness, poetry and sensibility.

The early masters of landscape painting in England were born in East Anglia, the nursery of English puritanism—Gainsborough, at Sudbury, John Crome and John Bernay Crome, at Norwich, John Constable, at East Bergholt, John Sell Colman, at Norwich. John Constable was the first to bring color and atmosphere into landscape painting. The English landscapists including also Bonington, Fielding, Prout and others dealt the death blow to classical painting; they greatly influenced French landscape painters, including the insurrectionist Delacroix who went to England to study them and frankly acknowledged his debt to them. The schools at Barbizon and the artist Millet were born on the wave of influence which Puritan landscape painters in England started. This in turn led to the best landscape painting of today.

Protestantism and Puritanism liberated pictorial art from professionalism—from exclusive appropriation by church and palace.

The greatest artist of Germany, Dürer, was a protestant. Modern art was born in Protestant Holland and modern painting in Puritan England. English Puritanism of the 17th and 18th centuries stood for the citizen and home ideal, for a living indiginous art. The cultured of that day who jeered at the Puritans were at the same time benefitting by the freedom which the Puritans had secured, just as those who jeer at Puritanism in modern America are comfortably resting on the foundations which Puritan pioneers laid in constant perils and hardships.

Puritanism is a protest against a superstitious dependence on the symbol to the exclusion of a higher faith. Our modern independent artists in their scorn of Puritanism forget that the Puritan from the beginning has been an independent in continual revolt against the letter of the law, and a crusader for its spirit.

THE ESSENCE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY ELBRIDGE COLBY.

AUTOBIOGRAPHIC memoirs are about the most interesting books in the world. Of course, the thing can be overdone, and it often is overdone. We have had inflicted upon us too many Reminiscences of a Busy Life, too many Memoirs of So-Long-a-Time in the United States Senate, too many Stories of a Theatrical Career. But, out of the cumbrous library, which a book-buyer interested in this kind of thing might easily collect, we can choose some volumes of real interest. The interest would be of two kinds—interest in the facts and interest in the personalities.

As far as the interest in facts is concerned, memoirs and autobiographies are of value to the historian, to the literary critic and to the gossipy individual. But this interest is a temporary one, or it is inspired by the particular purpose of the reader. I mean that any one who reads the *Apology for the life of Colley Cibber*, the *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft*, the *Recollections of a Literary Life* by Miss Mitford, *Education of Henry Adams*, the autobiographies of Mr. Roosevelt or of Mr. McClure; the *Memoirs of the French Revolutionist*, J. P. Brissot; *The Wandering Patentee of Tate Wilkinson*, strolling prayer; the *Confessions of a Convert*, by Mgr. Benson, and the *Trip Around the World*, by General Grant—any one who reads these things reads them for particular facts about certain countries of the earth, for particular facts about the stage or about politics, or for particular facts about these particular persons. The impelling motive is the insatiable curiosity of the gossip, who wants to know what card party the housewife next door is going to, or it is the spirit of investigation of a scholar trying to accumulate details of information opposite to his field of research. But both of these motives are, as I have said, of a temporary character. When the specific purpose is accomplished, there is no longer any stimulus; and so the interest in the search for facts lags when

the facts are found. Encyclopedias and Handbooks of Useful Information are often consulted, but never read as literature.

If, however, we stop for a moment to consider those few books of an autobiographic character, where the main interest is an interest in personality and not an interest in facts, we must find a different means of interpreting and analyzing the effect of the writing upon the man who sits in his armchair and reads. In this case the reader projects himself into the story instead of bringing the various incidents to himself. I do not make myself quite clear, so I shall explain by an illustration. Serious plays are of two kinds: Those emphasizing characters and those emphasizing situation. The second kind is called melodrama. (I exclude the farce because it is not a serious type). Now, the essential reason for the perennial popularity of the melodrama lies in the fact that the person in the orchestra chair, or in the last row of the gallery, projects himself into the story and shares in the anxieties of the actors. The man in seat H-105; he is the hero of the melodrama. A man may sympathize with, and may even deceive himself into thinking that he understands Hamlet; but he can never be Hamlet. But every man in the house who sits through the thrilling scenes of "Life" is Bill Reid himself. Why? Is not "Hamlet" a play of character and "Life" a play of situations? Exactly so. The man Hamlet is an extraordinary character subjected to extraordinary situations; and the man Bill Reid is an ordinary character subjected to situations which, however extraordinary, any one in the audience might conceivably have to face. Hamlet entangles himself in difficulty; Bill Reid is entangled by the tall suave villain. Bill Reid might be any man—the man in H-105, for instance; Hamlet must be Prince of Denmark. And the greater universality of the appeal of "Life" as compared with that of Hamlet is due to this fact—the man in the orchestra chair may conceivably place himself in the part of Bill Reid, because Bill Reid is a type of character often found.

Now, when we read a book, that book will have the most lasting effect which contains a character similar to our own, which relates incidents in which an ordinary man, the mythical man-in-the-street, might be engaged. We like that book best, to use a newspaper phrase, which has the most human interest. And "human interest" means an interest in things which appear to be common to all of us. The most curious paradox of the whole situation rests on the fact that the drama of situation is a tale of a usual personality, and the drama of character—being the story of a curiously changing and un-

usual character based on certain assumed conditions, and circumstances—is really a tale of unusual fact.

Then, when I say that I rank the drama of situation first over the drama of character as appealing to the commonalty of mankind for its popular appeal, and that I rank the autobiography of fact second to the autobiography of personality on the same basis, I run a grave danger of being misunderstood and of being called inconsistent. I might have made my comparison simpler, more conventional and more readily acceptable by reversing my analogy, but I am convinced that this is the correct interpretation, and shall continue to explain my reasons.

You ask me first what I consider the type of the autobiography of personality. The answer is quite obvious. Take St. Augustine, take Cellini, take Rousseau, take Newman. These are autobiographies of personality. I reject Gibbon from the inner circle, because all interest in him is artificial and stands secondary to and dependent upon an interest in his writings; I reject Hume for the same reason and Mgr. Benson also; I reject Doctor Johnson, not because Boswell wrote the interesting details of that amazing life, but because our interest there seems to be the gossip's interest in curious facts and an unusual character. I fear that I must reject Benjamin Franklin's interesting record for the same reason; it is the unusual there that attracts, not the usual, the normal, the weak and the human thing. The distinction between the unusual in character (really a record of assumed fact) and what may well be taken as the typical in personality is a very fine one, but I believe it to be at the root of the whole matter. I believe that St. Augustine, Cellini, Rousseau and Newman represent in their autobiographies typical personalities. There are many men to-day walking the streets of this city, riding in the underground subway or in the erratic street omnibus lines, who represent the type of St. Augustine, Cellini, Rousseau or Newman. The man of Religion, the frontiersman of the empire, the eccentric, but brainy lay philosopher, and the thoughtful student; these are usual types of modern man. And any commonplace man of today might write his own life into a melodrama of unexpected situations, but never into a drama of character; into an autobiography of a mere human personality, but never into an autobiography of curious facts. He might easily have been a Bill Reid, but scarcely ever a Hamlet. He might be a St. Augustine, a Rousseau, a Newman, but never a Gibbon, a Doctor Johnson, a Tate Wilkinson, a J. P. Brissot, a Colley Cibber, a Mr. Roosevelt, a Thomas Holcroft or a General

Grant, globe trotter. Some things may possibly come to all men, other things can possibly come to only a few. The common element strikes a universal responsive note simply and solely because it is the common element; the recital of uncommon events meets a limited audience simply and solely because it is uncommon. The one answers a permanent interest in the heart, the other finds a temporary interest in the head. And, as the things of the heart are those which endure, the fame of a book which is a record of personality outlasts the fame of a book which is a record of fact. Matters of fact are of their own time, but matters of human personality are of all times and all places. That is why we stand these four great autobiographies up as monuments to that human nature which does not change. We may be charmed for a while by the record of fact, by what one man saw on his trip around the world or by what another man saw when he lived the life of a strolling player in eighteenth century England. But we are strangely moved by the record of a personality which reacts as we ourselves react. This is why there is something universal and lasting in the autobiographies of St. Augustine, Cellini, Rousseau and Newman.

But I may be all wrong. My analogy of the common appeal to the common human may not fit. So, before I leave off, I shall offer what I called the simpler, more conventional and more readily acceptable explanation. It is simply that plays which deal with character and autobiographies which reveal character (or personality) endure through the ages, while those which deal with facts and depend on situations do not. *Hamlet* is thus a play of character, *Life* a play of situations; *St. Augustine's Confessions* is thus a book of character, *Colley Cibber's Apology* is not. This explanation does not take into consideration the wide popularity of some plays of situations; nor does it take into consideration the artificial interest created by a "literary" study and continued critical "appreciations" of some plays which are nothing but character studies; nor does it take into consideration the fact that students are taught to admire certain things in the class-room and immediately go down town and spontaneously and honestly enjoy the exactly contrary things; nor does it take into consideration the psychological elements of mob-interest or the power of sentimental attachment which all human beings show, for some things, for courage, for honor, for truth, for justice; nor does it take into consideration the non-popular and professional stimulus given to the retention on the stage of difficult character-plays by the very fact of their interpretations being considered a standard of histrionic ability and so frequently attempted by

emulous and unmerciful actors. It so happens that these very four objections to this second, and conventional explanation, stand as excellent arguments for the melodramatic explanation. But, at any rate, it makes little difference which explanation we offer, and it makes little difference which explanation we accept. Much can be said on both sides. Both may be right; both may be wrong. It matters not. The four—St. Augustine, Cellini, Rousseau and Newman—still stand where they stood when I began to write out this argument. They are the best of their kind. And, as I said in the beginning, autobiographic memoirs are about the most interesting books in the world.

THE COSMIC FIVE, SEVEN AND TWELVE

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN

JACOB as the Apostle is never mentioned in the New Testament except in connection with John, and always precedes the latter (as many as twenty times); while John is mentioned without Jacob only in Mark ix. 38 (and the parallel Luke ix. 49); in Acts iii. iv and viii. (where he and Peter are very bold men, see especially iv. 13), and in some of the Christian interpolations in Revelation (i., xxi., xxii), also doubtless being the unnamed beloved disciple of the Gospel of John. Without Andrew (as originally the surname of Jacob), we find Peter, Jacob and John as the three chief Apostles (those of the "watery signs") at the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Mark v., Luke viii) at the transfiguration of Jesus (Mark xiv., Matt. xxvi.), and probably on the Mount of Olives in the original of Mark xiii. 3 (and there only; Andrew being included in the extant text). Again, in Gal. ii. 9, we have Jacob, Kephas (=Peter) and John as pillars of the church; and in Luke's call of the first Apostles, Andrew is omitted, leaving Peter, Jacob and John.[23]

The names "Jacob" and "John" do not appear in the Gospel of John; but Jacob is introduced under his surname "Andrew" (see above), and John as the unnamed beloved disciple appears at the Last Supper reclining on the breast of Jesus, in xiii. 23; at the Crucifixion in xix. 26, 27; at the tomb in xx. 2, and in the appendix, xxi. 2, 7. In xix. 26, 27, the crucified Jesus says to his mother Mary, "Woman, behold thy son," and to the beloved disciple, "Behold thy mother"—this concept of John as the adopted son of Mary probably having been suggested by the fact that the Apostle was originally a brother of Jesus. In the other texts just cited, Peter and John are the chief Apostles; and in xviii. 15, 16, John is probably the unnamed disciple with Peter.

[23] In Gal. i. 19, Jacob is brother of Jesus; *cf.* ii. 12.

Philip, in Greek Philippos=Horse-lover, was naturally allotted to Aquarius, the man-horse, and he has the fifth place in all the catalogs, being coupled with Bartholomew in those of Matt. and Luke. As an Apostle, he appears elsewhere in the New Testament only in the Gospel of John; in i. 45 being followed by Nathaniel (=Bartholomew), but unlike the latter being assigned to Bethsaida (=Fishing-town), "the city of Andrew and Peter" (*cf.* xii. 21), probably as suggested by a vague recollection of the fact that Bethsaida in Galilee was in the tetrachy of Philip the proconsul. But the first rainy or winter month in Palestine may have been identified as Tabeth, as falling under Sagittarius, which would have suggested the extension into that sign of the celestial Fishing-town originally belonging to Cap., Aq., and Pisces. Thus in John vi. 1-15, only Philip and Andrew are named in connection with the multiplication of the loaves and fishes (although that miracle is dated "near the passover," at about the time of the spring equinox in Pisces); while Philip (unnamed) is certainly one of the seven Apostles who make the multitudinous draft of fishes in the John appendix. Philip follows Andrew in the catalogs of Mark and Acts; and probably because they are the two Apostles with Greek names, they are coupled in John as emisaries of certain Greeks who wish to see Jesus (xii. 20-26). In xiv., we find Philip as a doubter connected with the doubting Thomas, and doubt is primarily to be double-minded (see below, under "Thomas"), while Sagittarius was sometimes figured with two faces (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 353), as in the Egyptian planisphere of Dendera and on a Babylonian kudurru (see *The Open Court*, XX, p. 477).

Presumably the original catalog, containing Philip as the Apostle of Sagittarius, was compiled before the Gospel of John was written, and it is quite probable that the original of the Apostle Philip was "Philip the evangelist" of Acts (vi. 5; viii. 5-40; xxi. 8-9), now generally known as "Philip the deacon," who was probably also recognized as a figure of Sagittarius. Philip the evangelist was one of the seven (deacons) chosen to serve tables, and he had four daughters, virgins, who prophesied—and who mythically represent the four bright stars forming the Milk Dipper, the distinguishing feature of Sagittarius (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 356). It is true that in Acts viii. 5-40, Philip the evangelist is distinguished from the Apostles, but this only indicates a later differentiation; while on the other hand, the identification of the two Philips as one and the same was accepted by Polycrates of Ephesus (*cir.* 196 A.D.—in

Eusebius, *H. E.* III, 31; V. 24, 2), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* III, 6, 52) and later writers.

According to Acts viii., Philip the evangelist worked many miracles, driving out unclean spirits and healing paralytics (just as the Twelve and the Seventy were sent forth to heal the sick), and he also baptized many converts in the name of Jesus (as did the Apostles). One of these converts was an Ethiopean eunuch, treasurer of Kandace, queen of Ethiopia. When Philip met this eunuch, who was of the Jewish faith, the latter was riding in his chariot, through a desert, on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, and reading from Isaiah liii. 7-8. When Philip entered the chariot and interpreted this text as relating to the death of Jesus, the eunuch was forthwith converted and baptized: "But when they came up out of the water, the spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no longer. . . . Philip was found at Azotus." As Ursa Major, commonly known as the Big Dipper, was sometimes called the Waggon or Wain (Allen, *Star Names*, pp. 420-429), it is probable that the Milk Dipper of Sagittarius was also recognized by some as a Waggon or Chariot (the handle of the Dipper corresponding to the pole of the vehicle): whence the chariot of the eunuch in which rides Philip (=Horse-lover). Again, as Ursa Major was sometimes (as in Syria) known as the Bier or Coffin (Allen, pp. 432, 433), it is probable that the Dipper of Sagittarius was similarly identified by some: whence the introduction of the text from Isaiah relating to the death of Jesus (and in all probability this allusion to the death of Jesus suggested the traditional identification of the Apostle Philip with the unnamed disciple of Luke and Matt. who wished to bury his father before following Jesus—Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III, 4). At about the beginning of the Christian era, Sagittarius became the first sign of winter, the season of the death of vegetation and of the sun-god. In another view, winter is the season of sterility, whence probably both the eunuch and the desert in the story; but in the month under Sagittarius the graineries and storehouses for food have been filled, and the eunuch is a treasurer. Moreover, winter corresponds to the night, and the eunuch is an Ethiopean, a dark-complexioned native of the land just south of Egypt (see Jerm. xiii. 23, etc.); while Kandace, a common name for the queens of Ethiopia, was not improbably recognized as a lunar figure, for Artemis (Diana) was allotted to Sagittarius in the scheme of the Greek gods and the signs, and according to Oecumenius, the Ethiopians identified their

Kings with the sun as the universal father, and called all their queen-mothers Kandace (*ad Acts* viii. 17). Finally, both Gaza and Azotus (=Heb. Ashdod) are generally rendered "Strong"; but some interpret Ashdod as "Man of Dudu," which may have been taken for "Double (Biformed) Man," and thus connected with Philip as the Apostle of Sagittarius, which sometimes had two faces (see above).

All this does not preclude the possibility of an historical Philip whom Paul visited at Caesarea (Acts xxi. 8) and who finally became included among the Apostles.

Nathaniel Bartholomew. The Greek Bartholomaios represents an Aramaic Bar-tolmai=Son of Tolmai (Heb. Talmai; Sept. Gr. Tholmai—the Old Testament name, of uncertain meaning). In Josephus we find a Tholomaios in the time of Pompey, and another shortly after the beginning of the Christian era (*Antiq.* XIV, 8, 1; XX, 1, 1); but "Bartholomaios" is unknown outside of the Gospel catalogs, which indicates that it was only a surname, and an uncommon one. In the New Testament there is nothing of Bartholomew outside of the catalogs, and as there is no apparent reason for giving the surname Bartholomaios to the Apostle of Scorpio (or to any Apstle), it is not impossible that there was a person with this surname among the earliest Christians, whose given name had been lost when the original catalog of the Twelve was compiled—the tradition followed in the Gospel of John supplying "Nathaniel" as appropriate for a figure of Scorpio (see below). That the writer of John recognized "Nathaniel" as the true or given name of the Bartholomew of the catalogs is indicated by the fact that he represents Nathaniel as having been found and brought to Jesus by Philip (i. 46), thus coupling these two Apostles who are also coupled in the catalogs of Matt. and Luke.

The name Nathaniel is a variant of the Old Testament Nethaneel (Sept. Nathaniel=Given by God, answering to the Gr. Theodoros). Nathaniel appears only in John's account of his call (i. 46-52) and in the appendix (xxi). He at first doubts that Jesus is the Christ, perhaps because of the resemblance between the Heb. *didomi*=to give and the Gr. *didymos*=twin, for "to be in doubt" is primarily to be double-minded. When Jesus saw Nathaniel coming, he said, "Behold, truly an Israelite, in whom guile is not," and Nathaniel asked Jesus how he knew him. Jesus answered, "Before that Philip called thee, I saw thee, thou being under the fig tree (*teu syken*), and Philip said, Rabbi, thou are the Son of God, thou art the King

[the royal Messiah] of Israel." Then Jesus said, "Because I said to thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, believest thou? Greater things than these thou shalt see"; also saying, apparently to all the five Apostles called, "Verily, verily, I say to you, Hereafter ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending on the Son of Man."

In this text we have *syke*, the Greek word for the ordinary fig-tree, which in Hebrew is *tenah* (TANH), closely resembling the "than" in Nathaniel; and the ordinary fig-tree from a very early time was recognized as a phallic symbol, while Scorpio is the phallic sign of the zodiac, allotted to the secrets of the Homo Signorum (Manilius, II, 27; IV, 27, etc.). Thus, too, the Rabbis identified the tree of life of Gen. iii. as a (phallic) fig-tree (see Baring-Gould, *Leg. Pats. and Prophs.*, IV). But in all probability John's story was of Egyptian origin and alluded to the cosmic sycamore fig-tree (Heb. *sikmin* or *sikmoth*, Gr. *sykomoraia*), which was sacred to the goddess Nut. She was sometimes described and figured as giving a basket of figs to the deceased in the underworld (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, III, pp. 63, 64 and Plate XXIV), thus being a giver of fruits, while the first syllable of "Nathaniel" (=Given by God) closely resembles the name of the goddess. She was originally the night sky conceived as a celestial sea, finally becoming a personification of the whole heaven (see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 102). As a giver of life to the deceased for his resurrection in the celestial regions, she is often figured standing in a sycamore tree, pouring the "water of life" from a vase upon the deceased himself or upon his soul in the form of a bird. Doubtless originally the great cosmic tree, the sycamore finally became assigned to the west, which corresponds to autumn, and Nut is sometimes identified with Hathor, who is a goddess of the west. The "water of life" poured out by Nut was naturally identified or associated with the Galaxy river (or Milky Way) which disappears below the horizon in the house of Scorpio. The Galaxy was sometimes called the Path of Souls (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 476), the Pythagorean idea being that human souls descended thence to be born on earth (Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* I, 12; *cf.* Manilius, *Astron.* I, 756). According to Ovid, it was the road to the palace of Jupiter (*Met.* I, fab. VI), and in all probability it represented the ladder or stairway from earth to heaven upon which "the angels of God ascended and descended" in Jacob's dream (Gen. xxviii. 12, 13). Obviously, this Old Testament text suggested the Joannine statement that

Jesus told the Apostles that they would see "the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man"; and probably this vision was originally to be for Nathaniel only, because he was the Apostle of Scorpio, in whose house is one end of the Galaxy.

In the John appendix, Cana of Galilee is given as the residence of Nathaniel; but this was doubtless a comparatively late idea, suggested by the fact that the marriage at Cana immediately follows the call of Nathaniel.

Thomas. The name of this Apostle, which is the same in Greek, Latin and English, signifies Twin—a twin being *thoma* in Aramaic, *teom* or *toem* (TAM) in Hebrew; but there is no evidence of the employment of the word as a proper noun before its application to the Apostle—which suggests at the start that there was no historical disciple with this name. "Thomas" is found only in the catalogs and the Gospel of John, that Gospel adding that he was called "Didymos," the Greek for "twin." Were it not for his position in the catalogs, "Thomas" might at first sight be taken for a figure of Gemini, the Twins. But Libra, to which he is allotted in the Table, is also a double sign, with the two scales of the Balance; both ancients and moderns generally holding that it originated in Egypt (between 2000-1 B.C.), with its scales evenly balanced to represent the equality of day and night at the autumn equinox (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 270). The Egyptian Balance for this sign was substituted for the ancient Euphratean Flaming Altar figured as held in the Claws of Scorpio, while the early Greeks retained only the Claws (for Libra) as a part of their huge Scorpion, which thus represented two signs and reduced the whole number to eleven (see Brown, *Prim. Constels.*, pp. 67-71). It is therefore entirely probable that Thomas was originally the twin brother of Bartholomew (Nathaniel) of Scorpio; the former following the latter in Mathew's catalog, and being interchanged in that of Acts.

As "Thomas" was not a current proper name at the beginning of the Christian era, there can be little doubt that it was originally employed as a surname, or a mere epithet, of one of the mythic Twelve, and there are reasons for concluding that this one was Levi, the tax-gatherer or "publican," whose call is related in Mark ii. 13-17 and Luke v. 27-32 (Mark having "Levi, son of Alphaeus," at least in the extant text). In the parallel story of Matt. ix. 9-13, we find "Matthew" instead of "Levi"; but Mark and Luke presumably followed Proto-Mark for the original reading, "Levi." The story of the call of Levi was perhaps originally metaphorical of the

conversion of Levites or priests, who were collectors of the sacerdotal tithes; but the extant version relates to a gatherer of taxes for the Romans, thus making Levi a more or less detested character before his conversion. Libra, the Balance, is the sign of weighing (and measuring—Manilius, IV, 16), and the ancient tax-gatherer employed the balance for weighing metal money. The name Levi is akin to *lavah*=to be joined according to Gen. xxix. 34 (*cf.* Numb. xviii. 24), while in Gen. xlix. 5, it is said that "Simeon and Levi are brethren," probably meaning "twins" (perhaps in a figurative sense), as no such statement is made of the other sons of Jacob; and the two "brethren" are to be divided and scattered in Israel (vv. 6, 7), or Levi as the priestly tribe is separated from Simeon (and the others, and scattered among them all), according to Numb. viii. 14; xvi. 9; Deut. x. 8. Thus "Levi" in the Gospel story would naturally be interpreted "Twin," and it is quite probably that "Thomas" was originally no more than a Greek form of the Aramaic "Thoma," employed as a translation of "Levi"—just as "Thomas" is translated "Didymos" in John. "Matthew" may have been substituted for "Levi" in Matthew not only for the purpose of having a story of the call of the reputed writer of that Gospel, but also because it is probable that some referred the name "Matthew" to the Egyptian Maau-Taui or Mati, a name of Thoth the divine scribe and recorder—as we shall see.[24]

In Mark's catalog (where there is no coupling), Jacob son of Alphaeus immediately follows Thomas (=Levi); and these two Apostles may have been coupled by some, which may account for the identification of Levi as "the son of Alphaeus" in Mark ii. 13, where the phrase is probably interpolated.[25] "Levi the son of Alphaeus" is replaced by "Jacob the son of Alphaeus" in some MMS of Mark (D, a, b, c, e, etc., and apparently in others known to Origen, *Contra Cels.* I, 62). Again, in the Syriac Sin. of John xiv. Acts, this Simon being recognized as a counterpart of the Patriarch 22, we find "Thomas"; in the Syr. Cur. "Judas-Thomas," where all other MMS have "Judas, not Iscariot" for the duplicate Judas of

[24]The house in which Jesus dined with tax-gatherers immediately after the call of Levi (or Matthew in the Gospel of Matthew) is identified as that of Levi in the Diatessaron of Tatian (vii. 27), and as that of Matthew by many others; but the house of Jesus at Capernaum was probably intended in the original narrative (see *Enc. Biblica,* s. v. Matthew).

[25]Also see below, under "Jacob, son of Alphaeus." The writer of the article on Levi in the *Enc. Biblica,* favors the unwarranted conjecture that the original narrative had "Ilphai son of Ilphai" or "Ailphai son of Ailphai," which became "Mattai son of Ilphai" by the error of one copyist, while another dropped the initial, or the first two letters, and converted Lphai into Levi.

the catalogs (whence the "Judas-Thomas" of some Syriac writers and "Judas also called Thomas" in *Eusebius*, H. E. I, 13), which Syriac readings were probably suggested by the fact that the duplicate Judas follows the duplicate Simon in the catalogs of Luke and Simon, brother of Levi (the Twin=Thomas).[26]

In John's Gospel, Thomas is the doubter and the representative of those who did not actually oppose Jesus, but nevertheless sought proofs of his Messiahship; and evidently Thomas=Twin was given this character because doubt is primarily that state of mind in which one hesitates as to two contradictory conclusions, or a state of double-mindedness (*cf.* James i. 8; iv. 8), the words for doubt in Greek, Latin, Sanscrit and various other languages being from root words for "two."[27] In the principal Joannine story of Thomas, his doubt is about the resurrection of Jesus, which he would not believe until he had put his finger into the marks of the nails, and his hand into the wound in the side of his crucified master (xx. 24-29); and it is probable that he was represented originally as also doubting the resurrection of Lazarus by Jesus, whereas in the extant text of John xi. 11-16, the disciples (=Apostles) at first misunderstood Jesus to say that Lazarus was only sleeping—"Then therefore Jesus said plainly to them, Lazarus died. And I rejoice on your account, in order that ye may believe, that I was not there. But let us go to him. Wherefore said Thomas, called Didymos, to the fellow-disciples, Let us go also, that we may die with him (with Lazaros, apparently in the belief that they too would be restored to life by Jesus). Thus it seems that the doubts of Thomas were associated especially with the resurrection, probably because he was the Apostle of Libra (the Balance); a balance being the most conspicuous object in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, where it is employed to weigh the heart or soul of the deceased shortly after he is resurrected in the underworld. Moreover, as the Balance for the sign finally known as Libra originated in Egypt, it is probable that it originally represented the balance of the Judgment Hall as located just below the western horizon, so becoming the western sign of the autumn equinox. Like the solar, lunar and planetary deities, the Egyptian deceased reaches the western entrance to the underworld by way of

[26]The writer of the article on Thomas in the *Enc. Biblica* is able to offer no explanation of the "Thomas" or "Judas-Thomas" for "Judas not Iscariot." See same article for the tradition that Thomas had a twin brother Eleazar, or a twin sister Lysias.

[27] The Greek *distazò* (=to doubt) is literally "to stand divided between two conclusions" and *diakimo* is literally "to judge two ways," while the Latin *dubito* is "to go two ways."

the zodiac road, and here we probably have the suggestion for the story of the doubting Thomas in John xiv. 4-6—"And where I (Jesus) go, ye know, and the way [or 'road'] ye know. Says Thomas to Him, Lord, we know not where Thou goest, and how can we know the way?"; the extant text adding quite inconsistently, "Says Jesus to him, I am the way and the truth and the life."

Thomas appears again only in the John appendix, in the group of seven comprising Peter (Andrew), Jacob, John (Philip), Nathaniel and Thomas, but in confused order; Matthew's catalog alone putting Thomas in the seventh place, where he belonged after "Andrew" became a separate Apostle.

Matthew, in Greek, Matthaios or Maththaios, has a name of uncertain meaning. It is generally considered one of the several variants of the Old Testament Mattithiah (Gr. Mattathias)=Gift of Jehovah, which makes it synonmous with Nathaniel=Gift of God—but the two Apostles are certainly not to be identified. The father of the Hasmonean brothers and one of his grandsons (son of Simon) were named Mattithiah or Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 1, etc.; xvi. 14); but there is nothing to indicate that either was recognized as a counterpart of the Apostle Matthew, who appears to be purely mythical, without any historical original.

It is probable that Matthew first appeared in Christian tradition as the writer of the Gospel that bears his name, and there is a further probability that this work was originally the "Gospel of the Disciples (in Greek, *Evaggelion tòn mathèton*), finally becoming the "Gospel according to Matthew" (*Evag. kata Matthaion*), an intermediate step perhaps being had in an assimilation of the Gr. *mathètai* (=disciples) to the Heb. Mattithah, the Gr. form of which (Mattathias) is frequently contracted to Matthias in Josephus. (The anonmous epistle to Diognetus now bears the title of the Epistle of Mathètès [=Disciple] to Diognetus). Moreover, it is possible[28] that the substitution of Matthew for the Gospel writer was influenced by the fact that the Egyptian Thoth, the divine scribe and recorder, has in the *Book of the Dead* the name Maau-Taui (CXXV, B, 38, Theban, and rendered by Budge, "He who keeps the record of the two lands") or Mati or Mat (Saite—as rendered by others); while the goddess Maat or Maati is often represented as the female associate or wife of Thoth, many of her attributes being given to him in connection with their functions in the Judgment Hall of the

[28] This possibility is exaggerated beyond all reason by Massey, *Natural Genesis*, ii. p. 472 sq.

double Maati, so called as belonging to Maat, who sometimes has the dual form of Maati (see Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 418, 420). The Talmud has Matthai for Matthew, as we have seen.

There can be little or no doubt that the mythical Matthew was not included among the twelve Apostles until after our first Gospel had been ascribed to him, and perhaps after he had been substituted in that Gospel for the tax-gatherer Levi of Mark and Luke (see above). The story of the call of Matthew in the Gospel ascribed to him may have led to his inclusion among the Twelve, and he is the only one of the three synoptists so included—the Matthew catalog alone having "Matthew the tax-gatherer." But it is quite possible that the early Jewish Christians, readers of our first Gospel as ascribed to Matthew, included its reputed writer in a group of seven disciples before the original catalog of the Twelve was compiled; for the disciple who replaces the dead Judas Iscariot in Acts i. 23-26, is called Matthias, which name appears in Josephus as a contracted form of the Greek original of Matthew, and the catalog of the Twelve to which Judas belongs in Acts is doubtless an interpolation. Without the supernumerary Andrew (=Jacob), the first seven of the twelve Apostles in the original catalog were Judas Iscariot, Simon Peter, Jacob, John, Philip, Bartholomew (=Nathaniel) and Thomas (=Levi); but with Judas as the traitor presumably having been transferred to the end of the list of seven and there finally replaced by Matthew, the latter became the seventh disciple—and he is still the seventh in the catalogs of Matt. and Acts if we omit Andrew. The seven Apostles of the John appendix doubtless included Andrew and Philip as the unnamed Apostles; but the sevenfold grouping was presumably suggested by an early tradition of seven planetary disciples.

Matthew as the reputed writer of our first Gospel was probably conceived by some as a converted scribe, one of the Jewish literati devoted to the study of the Levitical law, to which class belonged many of the Pharisees, and as "Pharisee" signifies "one set apart," an ascetic and abstainer, we thus have an explanation of the early tradition that Matthew was an abstainer from animal food (Clement of Alexandria, *Paedag.* II, 1). In his character of the Gospel writer and a scribe, Matthew is appropriately allotted to Virgo in the original catalog, that sign being the ruler of language (and speaking—Manilius, IV, 15) and also of good and devout people who are skilled in the sacred mysteries (IV, 25). Moreover, the weighing of the heart or soul in the balance of the Egyptian Judgment Hall is some-

times done by the goddess Maat (see Budge, *Book of the Dead,* Theban Recension, I, pp. 30, 31), which probably suggested the Greek myth of the virgin Astraea (=Starry) as the Goddess of Justice (with the balance) who became the constellation Virgo (Hyginus, *Poet. Astr.* II, 25; Ovid., *Met.* I, 150). Thus Virgo was sometimes figured holding the Balance of Libra (Allen, *Star Names,* p. 462), which made a compound figure of Libra and Virgo, and perhaps suggested to some that Matthew belonged to Libra instead of Virgo—for Thomas and Matthew are interchanged in the catalogs of Luke and Mark (see Table).

Thaddaeus (*Lebbaeus*). This Apostle is mentioned in the New Testament only in the catalog of Matt. and Mark; the *Textus Receptus* of Mark having "Thaddaios," while that of Matt. has "Lebbaios surnamed Thaddaios." But it appears from the evidence of the most ancient Eastern MSS that "Thaddaios" was the original Greek reading in both Gospels, the Western texts of Matt. alone having "Lebbaios surnamed Thaddaios"; a favorite supposition being that "Lebbaios," from the Heb. *lebab* (=the heart), is a gloss of a copyist who referred "Thaddaios" to the Syriac *theda* (=mamma, breast; Heb. *shad*), and wished to substitute a somewhat similar and more dignified name for the Apostle. But the original form of "Thaddaios" was probably derived from the Heb. *todah* or *thoda* (=thanksgiving or praise), which is not akin to Theudas (Acts v. 36), a contraction of the Gr. Theodorus or Theodotus, signifying Gift of God (see *Enc. Biblica,* s. v. Theudas, 2, note).

The chief star of Leo is Regulus, in the breast of the Lion and sometimes called the Lion's Heart (Allen, *Star Names,* pp. 256, 257), and here in all probability we have the primary suggestion for the Leo allotment of Thaddaeus as referred to *theda*=breast, and also for his variant name or surname, Lebbaeus, as referred to *labab* =heart (*cf. labia*=a [bold] lion). As the Lion's Heart (Regulus) is a conspicuous star, while his breast is only imaginary, the given name of the Apostle of Leo was naturally assumed by some to be Lebbaeus and his surname Thaddaeus, as in Matt. Moreover, in the Homo Signorum, the heart is generally allotted to Leo, and the breast to Cancer; but these allotments are sometimes reversed (as by Julius Firmicus—see "The Cosmic Man and Homo Signorum"), which may account for the interchange of Lebbaeus (Thaddaeus) and the duplicate Jacob (of Cancer) in the catalogs of Matt. and Mark. The duplicate Jacob is thus put in the house

of Leo, and he was identified with Lebbaeus in the lost Syriac *Diatessaron,* according to the Syrian Ischodad (see Zahn, *Einl.,* II, p. 263).

The fact that Matt. and Mark have Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus) and omit the duplicate Judas, while Luke and Acts have this Judas and omit Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus), taken in connection with a falsely assumed identification of the names "Judas" and "Theudas" and "Thaddaeus," probably suggested the identification of Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus) with the duplicate Judas (see below) ; and thus a favorite conjecture of modern critics is that "Judas" was the given name of Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus) ; that "Thaddaeus" is a corruption of "Judas" (cf. "Theudas"), and that "Lebbaeus" is a copyist's variant of "Thaddaeus" (see *Enc. Biblica,* s. v. "Thaddaeus"). But in the very early Abgar legend, Thaddaeus is distinct from the duplicate Judas, the latter there being identified with Thomas as the Apostle who sent Thaddaeus to Abgar in Odessa (Euseb., *H. E.,* I, 13, where he says that the whole legend as he gives it was translated from the archives of Edessa ; *cf.* Moses of Chorene, *Hist. of Armenia,* II, 27-33 ; *Acts of Thaddaeus,* etc.). The prominent position of Thaddaeus in this legend suggests that he had an historical original among the primtive Christians. Moreover, Thaddaeus is one of the three or four Apostles in the catalogs of the seventy disciples (the others being Philip, Matthias and Jacob the brother of Jesus) ; one of the first seven Apostles called by Jesus on the shore of the Sea of Galilee according to the Gospel of the Ebionites (see above), and probably one (Thoda) of the five disciples of Jesus ben Pandira in the *Talmud* (see above).

As the first Judas, Simon and Jacob are duplicated in the original catalog of the Twelve, and as they were originally brothers of Jesus, the possibility suggests itself that John, originally the remaining brother (otherwise Joses or Joseph), was also duplicated in the original catalog, and that "Thaddaeus" and "Lebbaeus" were variant surnames of this duplicate Apostle—but there appears to be no evidence of this.

Jacob, son of Alphaeus, is a duplication of Jacob, son of Zebedee ; both being connected indirectly with the planet Venus as belonging to both Aquarius and Cancer in the astrological scheme set forth in Table II, the duplicate Jacob being allotted to Cancer.

In the New Testament we find "Jacob, son of Alphaeus" only in the catalogs of the Twelve—for the "Jacob minor" (with *mikros* =minor interpolated) of Mark xv. 40, is the brother of Jesus,

although he was (erroneously) identified with the son of Alphaeus by the writer of the Gospel of John, in the extant Greek MSS of which Alphaios becomes Klopas (see Table I). The otherwise unknown name Klopas probably resulted through the error of a copyist who had before him a more or less illegible MS, at the same time having in memory the Kleopas of Luke xxiv. 18; Kleopas, a contraction of Kleopatros, doubtless being the earlier form of the name.[29]

The name Alphaios is generally recognized as the Greek form of a Hebrew or Aramaic Hilphai or Ilphai; but there is no evidence of such a personal name at the beginning of the Christian era. In all probability the Gospel Alphaios (Lat. Alphaeus) is a variant of the classical Alpheos (Lat. Alpheus) or Alpheios (=the White, or Bright, the name of a river in the Peleponessus, and of the god of that river. The Alpheus was supposed to flow under the sea from Elis to the island of Ortygia on the coast of Sicily (Pausan. V, 7, 2; *cf. Schol. ad Pind. Nem.*, I, 3), and a cup thrown into it in Elis was said to reappear in the well of Arethusa on Ortygia (Strabo. VI, p. 270; VIII, p. 343; Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.*, III, 26). All of this serves to identify it as a terrestrial representative of the constellation Hydra (=the Water Snake, with the Crater=Cup on its back), among the Euphratean (Akkadian) names of which are Snake of the Sea, River of the Snake and River of the Great Abyss (Brown, *Prim. Constels.* I, pp. 104, 105). In the Greek sphere that has come down to us, Hydra is a snake with its head below the constellation Cancer and its body stretching through the houses of Cancer, Leo and Virgo, its tail being below the constellation Libra; and thus in Egypt, Hydra represented the Nile during the inundation (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 248), which began at the summer solstice in Cancer 2000-1 B.C. And thus, too, not only is the duplicate Jacob, son of Alphaeus (for the celestial river Alpheos) allotted to Cancer, but Levi (Thomas) is "son of Alphaeus" in Mark ii. 13, probably by an interpolation which was perhaps suggested by the fact that the duplicate Jacob immediately follows Thomas in Mark's catalog; whence it would seem that some recognized Levi=Thomas, Matthew, Thaddaeus-Lebbaeus and the duplicate Jacob as sons of Alphaeus. Furthermore, as the head of Hydra and the constella-

[29] In the A. V. of John xix. 25, we find "Cleopas," with "or Clopas" in the margin. The "Kleopas" of Luke xxiv. 18, is probably an error of transcription for "Kepheus"= Peter, who appears as Simon in v. 34; otherwise there is nothing in Luke of the previous appearance of Jesus to Peter, to which reference is made in the latter verse.

tion Cancer are now in the house of Genuni (whither the summer solstice retrograded at about the beginning of the Christian era), Simon Zelotes seems to have been included in this family group by some; for he is coupled with the duplicate Jacob in Luke's catalog, and in an early tradition he is the son of Klopas or Kleopas (=Alphaeus) and the second bishop of Jerusalem (Hegessippus in Euseb., *H. E.*, III, 32; IV, 22, and later writers). Moreover, the duplicate Judas is called "(brother) of Jacob" in the catalogs of Luke and Acts. Thus the six Apostles of the six signs from Libra to Taurus (inclusive, and as connected with the duplicate five planets and the sun) may have been considered the six sons of Alphaeus; while the remaining six Apostles were perhaps recognized in the same view as the sons of Zebedee. Four of these sons of Zebedee were originally brothers of Jesus, and it is not impossible that Zebedee was an early traditional name for the father of Jesus (as suggested above); but Joseph finally became the husband of the mother of Jesus, and was identified as the brother of Klopas (=Alphaeus—Hegessippus in Euseb., *H. E.*, III, 11, etc.). In John xix. 25, Mary the mother of Jesus is a sister of Mary the wife of Klopas, as she also is in Pseudo-Matthew, 42, etc. Thus it is possible that some divided the twelve Apostles into two groups of six each, recognizing the two fathers of these groups as brothers, and the two mothers as sisters, both named Mary. In connection with this view, Alphaeus=Alpheos=Hydra, together with one Mary, woud belong to half the celestial sphere, while Zebedee and the other Mary would belong to the other half; the two Maries thus being counterparts of the two female personifications of the celestial waters figured beneath the twelve signs and the thirty-six decans (as if assimilated to the earth-surrounding ocean-river conceived as two-fold) in the horizontal zodiac of Dendera (Denon, *Voyage,* Plate XIV; Lockyer, *Dawn*, p. 137). These two Egyptian figures may well have been identified with Isis and Nephthys, who appear to be represented by the two Maries at the tomb of Jesus (Mark xv. 47; Matt. xxvii. 61).

Simon the Zealot (*Cananaean*), as a duplication of Simon Peter, is necessarily allotted to Gemini—and appropriately so, that sign ruling warfare (and traveling, according to Manilius, III, 3), and it is not improbable that being identified as one of the Jewish Zealots originally, this Apostle (like Simon Peter) was recognized as a counterpart of the Old Testament Simeon, one of the sword-wielding brethren or twins. In the catalogs of Matt. and Mark, the dupli-

cate Simon is called Kananaios (Cananaean) in some MSS, while others have Kananites (which becomes Canaanite in the A. V.). The original Greek word was doubtless Kananaios, which represents some Aramaic variant of the Heb. *kanna*=zealous, whence it is translated Zelotes=Zealot in Luke and Acts, and thus the zealous character of Simon Peter as representing the historical Simon the Zealot, son of Judas of Galilee, is transferred to the duplicate Simon.

Simon the Zealot does not appear in the New Testament outside of the catalogs; but he is identified in early tradition as the son of Klopas (=Alphaeus) and the second bishop of Jerusalem, whose zeal was such that he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (according to Hegessippus, in Euseb., *H. E.*, III, 32).[30]

Judas, brother of Jacob (Gr. Joudas, of Jacobos), is a duplication of Judas Iscariot, and necessarily allotted to Taurus. He appears in the catalogs of Luke and Acts, but not in those of Matt. and Mark; and as the two latter catalogs include Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus), who are not in the two former, the duplicate Judas has often been identified with Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus), as by Origen (*Praef. ad Rom.*) and Jerome (*in Matt.* x), while some MSS of Matt. have "Joudas" or "Joudas Zelotes" instead of "Lebbaeus" or "Thaddaeus" —the latter being identified with Joudas Zelotes by Chrysostom (*De Prod. Jud.* I, 2). But the duplicate Judas and Thaddaeus (Lebbaeus) certainly cannot have been the same in the original catalog (see above). As Joudas Zelotes, Judas the brother of Jacob may have been recognized as the brother of Simon Zelotes by some; but others identified the two (*Chronicon Paschale;* Pseudo-Hippolytus *On the Twelve Apostles; Pseudo-Dorotheus*, etc.).

Outside of the catalogs of Luke and Acts, the duplicate Judas is found in the New Testament only in John xix. 22, as "Judas, not Iscariot," and in the introduction to the Epistle of Judas (A. V. "Jude"), where he is "Judas, (brother) of Jacob," the reputed writer of the work.

Judas Iscariot. Without his surname, he was originally the eldest brother of Jesus, and was recognized as a counterpart of Judas Maccabaeus (the eldest of the Hasmonean brothers), while the Zealot Judas of Galilee was probably his historic original. As a brother of Jesus, Judas was probably associated with the planet Hermes or

[30] It is possible that Simon the Cyrenian (Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26; Matt. xxvii. 32) was recognized by some as a figure of Gemini; for after B. C. 67, Cyrene became a double or twin province, Creta-Cyrene, and Simon of Cyrene had two sons, Alexander and Rufus, according to Mark, probably by an interpolation.

Mercury (see above), and as the Greek Hermes was not only a thief and the god of thieves, but was sometimes figured bearing a purse (as the giver of wealth), so was the Apostle Judas a thief and the bearer of the money bag (according to John xii. 6; xiii. 29).

As an Apostle, Judas is never mentioned in the New Testament Epistles, and was doubtless unknown to Paul. In Acts, he appears only in the interpolated section of Chap. I, where he is replaced after his death by Mathias. In all the (interpolated) catalogs of the Twelve he is the traitor to Jesus. In the synoptic Gospels, outside of the catalogs, he is found only as the traitor—in the stories of the betrayal (including his suicide in Matt. xvii. 3) and in the connected stories in which Jesus forsees the betrayal. In the Gospel of John, Judas is found in the parallels to these synoptic stories, and also in vi. 70, 71 (again as the traitor), and in xii. 4-6 (as the thief who carries the money bag).

Various unsatisfactory interpretations have been suggested for the word "Iscariot"; the generally accepted derivation being from the Hebrew Ish-Karioth=Man of Kerioth, a place supposed by some to be the Kerioth—Sept. Karioth—of Josh. xv. 25, which was not in Judaea, while others suggest the Koreae (Kerioth?) of Judaea mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. 3, 4, etc.). But there are reasons for concluding that "Iscariot" had a very different origin. In the best MSS of the synoptics we find: "Joudas Iskarioth" in Mark xiv. 10, and the catalogs of Mark and Luke; "Joudas who is surnamed Iskariotes" in Luke xxii. 3 (paralleling Mark xiv. 10); "Joudas Iskariotes" in Matt. xxvi. 14, and "Joudas the Iskariotes," in the catalog of Matt. In John, we have: "Joudas the Iskariotes" (xii. 4; xiv. 22); "Joudas, of Simon, Iskariotes (xiii. 2, in the best MSS, with the surname in the nominative, referring to Judas), and "Joudas, of Simon Iskariotes (vi. 71; xiii. 26, with the surname erroneously referred to Simon; while a few MSS even give "Simon from Iskariotes" thus definitely recognizing Iscariot as a place name). Simon is generally taken for the father of Judas; but in all probability was intended for his brother, as Simon (Peter) and Judas were originally brothers of Jesus, while Simon the Zealot and Judas are coupled in the catalog of Matt. (and see above).

The original New Testament surname of Judas was doubtless Iskarioth, as in Mark, and it probably represents a Hebrew or Aramaic phrase for "who is cut off," from the Heb. *ish* (=is, what is, who is) and *karath* (=to be cut off, separated, excommunicated). In the Old Testament, karath is used of a person, family or tribe

cut off from the nation or theocratic assembly, often by Jehovah, and this cutting off or excommunication was sometimes conceived as spiritual death, or even as resulting in actual death through the curse of Jehovah (see *Enc. Biblica*, s. v. "Cutting Off"), while in the New Testament it is considered as a giving over of the offender to Satan (1 Tim. i. 20; *cf.* Job ii. 6: Ps. cix. 6), with actual death as a consequence (1 Cor. v. 5). In the *Talmud*, much is made of "the curse of karath," through which the offender's allotted time on earth is shortened (*Erub.* 10, etc.). In the Heb. of Jerm. xliv. 11, "all Judah" is to be cut off by Jehovah; while according to Malachi iv. 6, they that do not accept the Messiah when he comes shall be smitten with a curse. In all probability, Judas Iscariot was cut off because he was recognized as the representative of Judah, Judaea, and the Jews who rejected the Messiah Jesus (see below). Thus, just as the offender who was cut off as given over to Satan, so is Satan said to have entered into Judas when he betrayed Jesus (Luke xxii. 3; John xiii. 2, 27; cf. vi. 71). And thus, too, just as the curse of cutting off resulted in actual death, so was Judas cut off with a violent death shortly after his betrayal of Jesus, while the Jewish nation was cut off or destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D.—in fact, there can be little doubt that the Judas legend originated after that date.[31]

The Apostle Judas (Iscariot) was doubtless recognized as a counterpart of the Patriarch Judah, one of the twelve sons of Jacob-Israel, Judah (Greek, Joudas) is the eponymous father of the tribe of Judah, representing Judah or Judaea as the southern kingdom of Palestine (Israel being the northern kingdom), and this southern kingdom gave its name to the Roman province of Judaea (Palestine being divided into Judaea, Samaria and Galilee at about the beginning of the Christian era). But the whole of Palestine was sometimes called Judaea as the land of the Jews Judaeans), as in Acts xxviii. 21; while the Rabbis recognized two chief divisions of their native land, Judaea as the "south country," and Galilee as the "north country" (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.*, XII). The Gospel Jesus of Galilee (of the Rabbinical "north country") was repudiated and given up to crucifixion by the Jews of Jerusalem in Judaea (the

[31] Robertson advances the theory that the Gospel narratives of the crucifixion of Jesus and his betrayal by Judas are variant descriptions of acted scenes in a religous drama (*Christianity and Mythology*, p. 354, etc.); but there is no evidence of this except in the disjointed, dramatic style of the narratives, which is natural enough in view of the probability that they were derived from verbal tradition and were the work of writers with limited literary ability.

"south country"), and it is quite probable that Judas as the betrayer of Jesus was at first recognized in Galilee as a representative of the Jews of Judaea as the "south country (the rest of the Twelve being considered Galileans, as in Acts i. 11); while the early Greek and Roman Christians made him a representative of the Jews (Judaeans) in the broader sense—at the same time recognizing the other Apostles as Jews also, whence perhaps the concept of their desertion of Jesus at the time of his trial and crucifixion.

In one view, Judas Iscariot represents the Tiamat or rebellious tribe of Babylonian mythology, for that tribe was cut off from the twelve, leaving eleven as followers of Bel-Marduk (see above), and there can be little doubt that the Tiamat tribe was allotted to Scorpio, the evil sign *par excellence*.[32] But in the astrological scheme set forth in Table II, Judas Iscariot is appropriately allotted to Aries, the sign of Judaea (generally in the broader sense of the word) in the scheme of the habitable world as a counterpart of the twelve-fold heaven; Ptolemy stating that Judaea and adjacent countries are under the dominion of Aries (and Mars or Ares—*Tetrabiblos*, II, 3), while Manilius has it that Aries rules Syria (including Judaea) and Persia (IV, 20). As already explained, Aries became the last instead of the first sign at about the beginning of the Christian era, while Judas became the last instead of the first Apostle at about the beginning of the history of Christianity; the probability being that he had been coupled earlier with Simon Peter, and included with the latter, together with Jacob and John (otherwise Joseph or Joses), as the sons of Zebedee—these four having been the brothers of Jesus originally (see Table). Moreover, Jesus was betrayed by Judas at the time of the Passover, in the Jewish month Nisan, the first month of the sacred year, under Aries the first sign—the Greek Ram, but the Lamb of the Persian sphere (*Bundahish*, II, 2; V, 6, 7, etc.), and the crucified Jesus is recognized as the lamb of God (John i. 29, 36; Rev. v. 6, etc.), representing the sacrificed lamb of the Passover. At his last Passover supper, shortly before his crucifixion, Jesus foretells that he will be betrayed by Judas; but the Passover lamb was sacrificed for the supper, and it was at a feast that Osiris was betrayed to his death by Typhon (Set, the Egyptian counterpart of Judas as well as of Satan), and other conspirators, in the month under Scorpio (Plutarch, *De Isid.* 13). The

[32]According to Manilius, fraud is found among its stars, and those born under this sign, "though they seem friends, yet give a secret wound" (II, 29); while Hippolytus says that those born under Scorpio "are by nature crafty, sedulous, liars, . . . of a deceitful spirit, wicked," etc. (*Philosophuma*, IV, 20).

supposed prophecy of Ps. xli. 9, obviously suggested what Jesus says of his betrayal by Judas, at the last Passover; but the betrayal is not necessary in the historical view, for Jesus continued to teach publicly in Jerusalem, and could readily have been found by the authorities.

The concept of the betrayal of Jesus by an individual, was perhaps primarily suggested by some statement that he was "betrayed" by the Jews to the Romans; for in 1 Cor. xi. 23, we read of what Jesus did "the same night in which he was betrayed"—presumably alluding to his betrayal by the Jews, as there is nothing here of any individual betrayer. Nevertheless, in the Old Testament we have the story of the betrayal of Joseph by ten of his brothers, with Judah (=Judas) as the one who suggested that he be sold into slavery for twenty pieces of silver (Heb. of Gen. xxxvii. 18-28), which is the price of a boy in Lev. xxvii. 5; the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* having it that Judah sold Joseph (*Sim.* 2).[33] Thus in Matt. xxvii. 15, Judas sells Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, the price of a slave in Ex. xxi. 32; this price reappearing obscurely in Zech. xi. 12, 13, which was taken for a prophecy of the selling of Jesus (as was Amos ii. 6—"they sold the righteous for silver").

It appears that some of the later Jews substituted the thirty for the twenty pieces of silver as the price for Joseph; thirty pieces of silver appearing in the Vulgate of Gen. xxxvii. 18-28, while in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we find thirty pieces of gold, of which twenty were shown and ten were hidden (*Gad*, 2—the Sept. of Gen. xxxvii. 18-28, and Josephus, *Antiq.* II, 3, 3, having "twenty pieces of gold" as the price for Joseph). The thirty pieces of silver (which reappear in Matt.) were probably referred in a vague way to the phases of the (silver) moon as associated with the months of thirty days each in a year of three hundred and sixty days; for in the *Testaments* there is a vision in which Judah becomes the moon, or like the moon (*Naph.*, 5), while the Apostle Judas is allotted to the moon as the planet of Ares (Table II) and may have been recognized by some as a figure of the moon (and the night) who opposes Jesus as a figure of the sun (and the day). Moreover, Jesus was betrayed and crucified at the Passover, a full moon festival, when the lunar thirty pieces of silver may well have been conceived as accumulated and paid.

[33] It should also be noted that Judas Maccabaeus is (falsely) accused of being "that traitor to the realm" in Macc. xiv. 26.

According to Matt. xxvii. 3-5, Judas repented after his betrayal of Jesus; cast down the pieces of silver in the temple (mythically the heaven or universe at night), "and having gone away, hanged himself" (as the moon was sometimes conceived to be hung or suspended in the sky). But it is possible that the hanging of Judas was primarily suggested by the fact that his surname Iscariot was referred by some (e. g. Origen *Tract in Matt.* xxxv.) to the Heb. *askara*=strangling; thus leading to the recognition of an Old Testament type in the story of Ahithophel, the traitor to David, who strangled or hanged himself (2 Saml. xvii. 23; the same Greek word for "hanged himself" appearing in the Sept. and in Matt. xxvii. 5). There is also an ancient (but fictitious) story that the prosecutors of Socrates, who was condemned to death, hanged themselves after being socially excommunicated or cut off (Plutarch, *De Invid.*).

In Matt. xxvii. 6-10, the thirty pieces of silver are finally used for the purchase of the "potter's field, for a burying ground for strangers"; thus fulfilling a supposed prophecy which is attributed to Jeremiah in Matt., but is really that of Zech. xi. 12, 13, as erroneously understood. According to the Hebrew text, Zechariah's thirty pieces of silver were cast into "the treasury in the house of the Lord"; but the Sept. has "furnace" instead of "treasury," and the A. V. has "to the potter." Moreover, in Matt. the potter's field is said thenceforth to have been called "the field of blood," because it was purchased with the price of blood; while in Acts i. 18-20, the name by which this field was known to the inhabitants of Jerusalem is given as Akeldama (probably for the Aramaic Akel-demakh-Field of sleep; i. e., a cemetery), and Judas himself is there said to have purchased the field with the price of his treachery—"and having fallen headlong (in the field, he) burst in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out" (of course with blood; while his belly was doubtless conceived as swollen when he fell). This is probably the older of the two New Testament legends of the death of Judas, and it has various parallels in history, legend and mythology.

Josephus relates that Catullus, a false accuser of innocent Jews, met his death with the falling out of his entrails through disease, thus furnishing a notorious example of one of the means by which God punishes the wicked (*Bel. Jud.* VII, 11, 4); while Zenodorus, a Syrian enemy of Herod the Great, died when his belly burst and a great quantity of blood issued from it (*Antiq.* XV, 10, 3). Jehoram was smitten by God with an incurable disease of the bowels, so they fell out (2 Chron. xxi. 18, 19), and Joab smote Amasa with the

sword, so his bowels fell on the ground (2 Kings xx. 10). In the Septuagint and Vulgate of Daniel (xiv.), in the appended story of Bel and the Dragon, Daniel slays the dragon (originally a storm figure) by feeding it cakes made of pitch, fat and hair, which caused it to burst asunder—as probably suggested by the Babylonian myth of Tiamat, whose belly was filled with the hurricane when Bel-Marduk cut her entrails to pieces and divided her into two parts, according to "The Seven Tablets of Creation (Tablet IV, lines 94-104; Tiamat there being the primordial universe or chaos). In a Buddhist legend, the Brahmin Jutaka treacherously obtains the two children of King Wassantara as his slaves; sells them to their grandfather for their weight in gold; makes a great feast with his ill-gotten wealth, and so gorges himself that his bowels gush out and he dies (Upham, from the Jatakas, quoted by Lillie, *Pop. Life of Bud.*, pp. 310-312). In the widely diffused story of Ahikar, the treacherous Nadan finally "became inflated like a leather bottle; all his members and bones swelled and he split open and burst" (Conybeare, Harris and Smith-Lewis, *Story of Ahikar*). Finally, one of the earliest Christian Fathers, Papias, is quoted as follows: "Judas walked about in this world a great example of impiety; for his body having swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out" (Oecumenius *ad* Acts i.; Theophylact *ad* Matt. xxvii). The primary suggestion for the chariot was perhaps found in the resemblance of the Heb. *KR*, *kar*, a carriage, to *KRS*, *keres*, the belly; while the original form of the surname of Judas was probably Ish-Karath=who is cut off. Indeed, it is quite probable that the bursting belly story was first added to the Judas legend because of the resemblance of *keres*=belly to the latter element in Ish-Karath, Ishkarioth or the like; the cutting off of Judas, in the sense of his death, by the falling out of his bowels, presumably being conceived as a punishment from God, as definitely in the stories of Jehoram and Catullus. But this does not preclude a more or less vague recognition of the mythic prototype, with the swollen and bursting belly belonging to a storm figure (as in Dan. xiv. and the Tiamat myth); indeed, even "*the* chariot" that crushes the swollen Judas is mythically that of the victorious sun-god.

Some of the stories of Buddha's treacherous disciple, Devadatta, appear to have been suggested by the Gospel story of Judas. Thus Devadatta schemed with a wicked prince to slay Buddha, and bowmen were sent against him, but in vain, and again the traitor on a

palaquin led a band of men to arrest his master, but alighting to stretch himself, flames burst out of the earth, and he was carried down to hell for horrible punishments (*Burmese Life*, Bigandet, p. 244). In another account, Devadatta seems to have murdered his master. Like Jesus, Buddha is said to have had a last supper with his disciples, and a traitor among them "changed his bowl" and apparently poisoned him, thus causing his death (Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 133; Lillie, *Inf. of Buddhism*, p. 65). In Mark xiv. 20, and Matt. xxvi. 23, Jesus says that his betrayer is the Apostle who dips with him in the dish at his last supper (cf. Luke xxii. 21; John xiii. 26-30). But Buddha died from eating pork, according to the generally received account.

PROFESSOR PRATT, CRITICAL REALISM, AND THE MAN OF COMMON SENSE.

BY JOHN EDMOND HEARN.

IS it possible to make philosophy understood by him who runs while reading? Runs, that is, in the sense that a clock runs; does not cease to operate; works union hours, has three meals a day, sleeps nights. Is it possible, without giving up business, to learn what all the Deep Thinking is for?

James Bissett Pratt, Professor of Philosophy in Williams College, seems to think it is. He contributed an essay to the volume of *Essays in Critical Realism* (Macmillan). The other essays are by six other philosophers in six other colleges.

Common sense, says Pratt, is merely primitive philosophy.

So David Harum, Mrs. Wiggs, and Abe Lincoln are primitive philosophers.

The snap judgments of common sense are often wrong. We are told that they must be corrected in view of the facts of error and illusion and the differences between the data of different perceivers and between those of the same perceiver at different times.

Common sense is good enough, then, only if one is not a serious thinker or has begun to think at all.

Modern philosophy, like modern science, is the result of a slow development. Modern philosophers should be allowed the right to ridicule the earlier thinkers. The more they ridicule the more interesting they become to laymen.

"Descartes," according to Pratt, "discovered that by a great effort he could succeed in doubting everything except the immediate content of his own consciousness. Thereupon, by a still greater effort, he deduced God from the fact of his idea of God; and, having secured God, he succeeded eventually in recreating the world."

The dualistic view of mind and its objects was common among philosophers up to the time of Descartes. He queered it, as the vulgar say.

Still, he was the champion dualist till John Locke arrived. Descartes was willing to accept the content of his own mind as real; but Locke would take only a part of that content—"the perception of the connection and agreement, or disagreement and repugnance, of any of our ideas"—as knowledge.

Berkeley followed Locke, and it was Berkeley who in a peculiar sense broke down the walls of the "Lockian prison." Locke said that we could not know the outer world. Very well, Berkeley said, there is no outer world to be known; there is nothing real except ideas, which are God-inspired.

Kant would have none of "der gute Berkeley's" idealism, and so returned to the dualism of Descartes and Locke, which he made absolute. Kant said that between the real and the unknowable there is an impassable gulf.

The neo-Kantians espoused an objective idealism which resembled Berkeley's subjectivism; for them, Kant's world of things-in-themselves was abolished.

"Realism," says Pratt, "had led to scepticism because of the exaggerated dualism of Descartes, Locke, and Kant.

The neo-realists, who appeared at the beginning of the present century, claimed that we are not shut off from the real by our ideas; we know things directly; ideas do not intervene; there are no ideas. "Knowledge is not a relation between a knowing subject and an object known. It is merely a special sort of relation between objects. And since objects may thus be known directly, there is no longer any danger of agnosticism."

What are you thinking of when you are thinking of a dead man? Locke's answer could only be that you are thinking of the idea of the man dead. The neo-realist would have to say that one's present concept somehow is the man himself altho he is dead, not present but past. The modern philosophy of critical idealism maintains that the object of one's thought is exactly the man himself. The concept is not the object of thought but the means of thinking—one of the tools required for conceiving the object.

The quality-group, according to critical realism, is not the object of perception but the means by which one perceives. This is the chief point of difference between critical realism and the two other forms of realism, those of Locke and the neo-realists.

If we perceive only our perceptions, as Locke held, we are "imprisoned within our ideas."

Pratt makes the neo-realists out as rather absurd with his example of yesterday's headache. If the object of thought must actually be present, in thinking of yesterday's headache one's head would ache today.

It seems that the fallible kind of perception and knowledge involved in critical realism is exactly the kind of perception and knowledge which we really have. To that extent, necessarily, critical realism is agnostic; it does not know everything.

The task of the epistemologist, says Pratt, is to expound the conditions of knowledge actually obtaining in the "somewhat unsatisfactory world we have to live in."

Idealism, pragmatism, and neo-realism are philosophical systems made to order with a view to "avoiding agnosticism." Consequently, they fail to apply "to such very fallible beings as we."

Critical realism, says Pratt, "does not pretend to provide us with a bell that rings when we are right or a whistle that blows when we are wrong."

To sum up the system, it holds that physical entities exist independently of being known; that they may be the mind's object but not its content; that they differ in some respects from the quality-groups of our perception, but that they are so related to our percepts that science may investigate some of their relations to our percepts and to each other, and thus gain trustworthy knowledge.

That is not agnosticism.

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